The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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War Bonds and the Churches

An Editorial

The Things Which Make For Peace

By Ernest Fremont Tittle

Toward One-Party Government

An Editorial

Hate, Radio and Morale

By Fred Eastman

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In This Issue

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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

May 27, 1942

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Calendar of Coming Events

May 26-31. Northern Baptist Convention, Cleveland, Ohio.
May 27. General Assembly, United Presbyterian Church, Columbus, Ohio.
May 28. General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in the U. S., Knoxville, Tenn.
June 1-5. Hampton Institute Ministers' Conference, Hampton, Va.
June 3-5. American Calvinistic Conference, Grand Rapids, Mich.
June 3-7. Baltimore Methodist Conference, Westminster, Md.
June 3-July 15. Lisle Fellowship Conference, Lisle, N. Y.
June 4. General Synod, Reformed Church in America, Albany, N. Y.
June 7-12. Congregational Adult Summer Conference, Franklinton, N. C.
June 9-18. Institute of International Relations, Friends University, Wichita, Kan.
June 10-16. Church of the Brethren Annual Conference, Asheville, N. C.
June 11. Tioga Baptist Association, Tioga, Pa.
June 11, 12. Bradford Baptist Association, New Albany, Pa.
June 12, 13. Bridgewater Baptist Association, Jackson, Pa.
June 12-26. Annual National Cooperative Recreation School, Plymouth, Wis.
June 14. Methodist Student Day.
June 14-17. Nebraska Disciples Convention, Hebron.
June 14-19. Congregational Adult Summer Conference, Clear Lake, Ia.
June 14-20. Congregational Adult Summer Conference, Spirit Lake, Ia.
June 15-18. Illinois Ministers' Institute, Eureka.
June 15-18. Ministers' Retreat, Bethany, W. Va.
June 15-19. Methodist Ministerial Training School, Salina, Kan.
June 15-21. Ministers' Convocation, Blue Ridge, N. C.
June 15-22. College Girls' Conference, Northfield, Mass.
June 15-24. Institute of International Relations, Grinnell, Ia.
June 15-26. Methodist Ministerial Training School, Dallas, Texas.
June 16-19. Institute on Pastoral Counseling, Dallas, Texas.
June 18-19. Grand Traverse Baptist Association, Lake Louise, Mich.
June 18-21. State Christian Endeavor Convention, Guilford College, N. C.
June 18-25. General Council, Congregational-Christian Churches, Durham, N. H.
June 18-26. Student Peace Service Institute of International Relations, Lancaster, O.
June 19-27. Institute of International Relations, Chapel Hill, N. C.
June 20-26. School of Missions, Winona Lake, Ind.
June 21-28. Institute of International Relations, Portland, Ore.
June 22-25. State Baptist Ministers' Council, Lewisburg, Pa.
June 22-27. Methodist Ministerial Training School, Columbia, S. C.
June 22-27. Methodist Ministerial Training School, Beersheba Springs, Tenn.
June 22-27. Methodist Ministerial Training School, Bristol, Va.
June 22-27. American Library Association Conference, Milwaukee, Wis.
June 22-28. Oregon Disciples Convention, Turner.
June 23-28. National Baptist Sunday School and B. T. U. Congress, Atlanta, Ga.
June 23-July 3. Institute of International Relations, Wellesley, Mass.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

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CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

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EDITORIAL

WITH the launching of a German drive toward Kerch and a Russian counter-offensive toward Kharkov, the great European campaign of 1942 has apparently opened. For the moment, even the prospect of a Japanese offensive against Australia or India receives secondary attention. This is not simply because of the gigantic size of the armies engaged in Russia, but even more because of the greater stakes involved. Hitler is out to win or lose the war immediately; he is staking everything on this campaign. The German fate will probably be settled within the next six months. The fighting along the southern end of the Russian battlefront is not marked by any military deception or the unveiling of surprises in weapons or strategy. Instead, the two great armies are smashing against each other, like a pair of heavyweight fighters slugging it out toe to toe. As a result, the most frightful losses in the history of warfare must be expected. For weeks to come reports will be fragmentary and unreliable from both sides. But the main results cannot long be hidden. If the Germans crash through Tiflis or Baku, the war will be definitely lengthened. If they are stopped short of overrunning the Caucasus, then Hitler will near the end of his reign of terror. It is unlikely that either the United States or Great Britain can deliver enough supplies to the front to have much influence on the outcome of this campaign.

Titans Locked In Battle

A New Voice From India

FOR EVIDENCE of the speed with which the Japanese advance is changing the outlook of Englishmen in India attention should be directed to the letter which the Anglican Bishop of Calcutta has addressed to the British community in Bengal. Unfortunately, we do not have the full text of that letter. It was printed in the London *Times* on April 20, but we have seen only the excerpts quoted in the *New Statesman* for April 25. However, these are sufficient to disclose the sensational nature of the document, coming as it does from an Anglican bishop in India. Bishop Westcott's main purpose is to reprove his countrymen for their "calm assumption of superiority inherent in the British race." He charges that they have held Indian traditions, customs and practices in contempt simply because they differ from their own. He speaks with disapproval of "the founding of clubs and institutions [in India] from which Indians have been excluded." He puts the onus on England for the slow development of political responsibility among Indians. "India is rich in men of ability and force of character. It is natural and right that power to control her affairs should be vested in them. . . . If the charge which is frequently leveled against the British government of having fomented Hindu-Moslem antagonism is true, I deeply regret it." Such a letter from such a source would have been unthinkable two years ago; perhaps even a year ago. It is to be hoped that it represents more than a temporary mood, to pass with the passing of the Japanese menace.

Distilleries Can Supply All Needed Alcohol

REPORTS from wholesalers indicate that sugar is piling up in eastern warehouses so rapidly that its disposition is becoming a problem. An increase of the sugar ration is said to be probable, but there are indications that the ration might be raised to normal consumption level without exhausting the available supplies. Why should there have been this remarkable change in a situation which a few weeks ago was said to threaten the nation's whole war effort? The reasons turn out to be mainly two. In the first place, the supply of sugar from Hawaii has not been depleted by the war. On the contrary, it has increased. And in the second place, by redistilling liquor held in bond and by distilling surplus grains, the government has found that it can get all the ethyl alcohol it needs for smokeless powder. "Normally," says *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* for May 1 in explaining what has happened, "the production of industrial alcohol in the United States is some 100,000,000 gallons annually. The present program requires that this be stepped up to at least some 350,000,000 gallons. The

apparent sources of this amount expressed in millions of wine gallons, 190 proof equivalent, now are approximately: whisky industry, 190 proof direct, 100; high wines to be redistilled, 70; industrial alcohol industry, from blackstrap molasses, 120; from synthesis, 60; total 350. This program is calculated to yield the required alcohol without using crystal sugar. It releases all sugar heretofore converted into invert molasses, and thus divorces alcohol from any effect on sugar supplies." One immediate effect of this change in government policy is to be seen in the case of Cuban sugar. It had been expected that 1,300,000 of the 3,800,000 tons of sugar ordered from Cuba would go for alcohol. Under the new plan only 400,000 tons will be so used. As the paper which first proposed this policy, The Christian Century is naturally glad to see the government trying it out. And it is gratifying to find that it works.

Browder Released from Penitentiary

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has commuted the sentence of Earl Browder, and the American Communist party leader has been released from the Atlanta penitentiary. He has served a year and two months and paid a fine of $2,000. The technical charge on which Browder was convicted was fraudulent acquisition and use of a passport. But numbers of Americans, many of them not communists, had signed petitions for his release because they believed the severity of the sentence was entirely disproportionate to the seriousness of the offense and reflected a desire to crack down on the Communist party—which was opposing the administration's policy at the time Browder went to prison—rather than any special concern to dispense strict justice. There have been almost no cases in which passport frauds have drawn sentences heavier than a year *or* a small fine. By freeing Browder, the President gets rid of one source of embarrassment in our relations with Russia. In this he is ahead of the British government, which still has on its hands the problem of what to do with the suppressed London *Daily Worker*. And Browder is not likely to play a conspicuous role in the future. In matters of political leadership, nothing counts with Moscow except success. (In that the Kremlin does not differ from other capitols.) Having conspicuously failed to achieve any success as leader of the American branch of the Communist party, Browder is probably ticketed by the party master-minds for a quick oblivion.

Britain Tries Women Draft Objectors

LIKE creeping paralysis, total war engulfs one area after another of democratic life. Conscription of women, first resorted to in Russia long before the present war, has now reached Great Britain. It is now the law in that country that all women between the ages of twenty and thirty years who are unmarried, physically able and without dependents, are subject to conscription for work in war industries, on farms or in non-combatant service with the armed forces. While no one has as yet called this "the nationalization of women," as it was stigmatized when the practice originated in the Soviet Union, not all women appear to be willing to accept their new status without a struggle. So twenty-two feminine conscientious objectors to the draft are now on trial in London. Unlike the conscription law for men, the legislation calling women into service makes no provision for exemption on grounds of conscience. Nevertheless, the tribunal before which they appeared exempted a Salvation Army girl who declared that she opposed all war as contrary to the teachings of Christ. Since she did not make this belief an obstacle to doing voluntary work at the training camps, she was given her freedom. Another young woman, the daughter of Ethel Mannin, the novelist, was refused exemption after she rested her case on her right as a citizen of a democracy to freedom of occupational choice. She declared that she would resist an invader, but would use the non-violent methods of Mr. Gandhi. A salesgirl who declared that she would rather go to prison than to accept the tribunal's verdict that she was not a true conscientious objector will probably have the opportunity of doing so. At last report there were over three hundred British objectors to war in prison for refusing to accept the rulings of the tribunals concerning their status. Since American practice regarding conscription has followed the British example closely, both in the First World War and in this, conscription of women in the United States is becoming a distinct possibility. Already the volunteer British "Waac" corps has produced its American counterpart.

Does the Government See the War's End Near?

THAT THE WAR may be decided in 1942 or early in 1943 is suggested by an order from the Office of Production Management stopping the use of government funds to build factories which cannot promise full production by the middle of 1943. Allocations of steel and other bottleneck war materials are henceforth to be permitted only to industries which are already in production or will soon be turning out war goods. Further enlargement of plant facilities is to be stopped, since the OPM now holds the theory that the decisive turn of the war will come this year or early in 1943. Every effort is therefore being thrown into those activities which promise the most immediate return. This seems to mean that the high command in Washington has swung to the view of Stalin, rather than that of Churchill, concerning the length of the war. The Russian leader has all along insisted that the decisive action will come this summer. Mr. Churchill, with his eyes on the production schedule of American factories, has maintained that 1943 would see the turning of the tide. While the OPM order provides the most significant indication we have yet seen of the importance of the actions which are now either in progress or in immediate prospect, we doubt whether Donald Nelson or Stalin or anybody else knows when the conflict will end. With a world conflagration blazing on all the continents except South America and raging on every sea, with the "peace machinery" of the world scrapped and the ele-

ments in every nation which desire peace discredited and silenced, with no nation having yet realized its objectives or achieved security, the date when the war will end—at least through victory for anybody—is beyond the power of any man to predict.

Free China in Danger

ALTHOUGH the newspapers continue to headline Chungking reports of Chinese victories, that battered city appears to stand today in greater peril than it has known since it became the capital of Free China. As pointed out in these pages several weeks ago, the collapse of British and Chinese resistance in Burma makes that country a base from which the Japanese can attack both China and India. The landing of heavy new forces on the Burmese coast after the battle of Burma was virtually completed shows that Japan intends to make use of this base, and the development of the campaign up the Burma road makes it clear that the armies of the sun goddess plan first to carry out their long-threatened invasion of west China. The gravity of the situation arises from the fact that the advantage previously held by the defenders has largely been lost. Hitherto compelled to cross mountain ranges in their drive inland from the east coast, the Japanese are now in position to advance along valleys. China is further handicapped by having been cut off from vital materials from other countries. She is now almost completely encircled by Japanese armies, it being impossible to transport supplies in significant quantities either from Russia or by air from India. In this situation the United Nations at last begin to realize how much they owe to the part Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his armies have played in engaging for more than four years, most of the time alone, a military power which has in five months inflicted a series of major defeats on Great Britain, the Netherlands and the United States. This record gives reason for believing that so long as the armies of Free China are in being and able to maintain their resistance, their reinforcement with the technical resources of the United Nations provides the surest and quickest method of changing the aspect of the Far Eastern war.

More Blessed to Give Than to Receive

THERE are comic interludes in many great tragedies—the drunken porter scene in "Macbeth," and in the present war the clowning of Mayor La Guardia as he delivered with ironic compliance a "canned" speech on gasoline and rubber conservation which he said some "schlemiel" had sent him from Washington. It is not particularly funny that predigested patriotic oratory should be supplied to public speakers by a government bureau. That practice may be either a proper and effective method of disseminating information or a blundering and ridiculous effort to put words into the mouths of men who are supposed to be speaking for themselves and who are quite capable of doing so. Which it is in any case will depend upon the circumstances. But though the effect may be absurd, it is not ordinarily downright comical. The humor of the incident that occurred a few nights ago in New York at a conservation rally lay in the fact that it was Mayor La Guardia who resented the canned speech and publicly poked fun at it as the work of some simpleton. It can scarcely have been forgotten that it was Mayor La Guardia's office, when he was head of the OCD, which sent out the canned sermon which ministers were requested to preach as their own on Freedom Day, November 16, 1941. The Christian Century voiced the sentiment of many ministers when it characterized this effort to regiment the clergy as "a shocking piece of impudence." At the same time it was conceded that it was "a good sermon in its material, its outline and its thesis." Mr. La Guardia's office was furious at this criticism of its technique of propaganda through the pulpit. But now, when Mr. La Guardia receives the text of a speech which he is requested to use for his guidance in an address on saving gasoline and rubber, he finds that such releases from government offices look very different when viewed from the receiving end. That's what makes it funny—the incongruity between his indignation when his own boiler-plate sermon was spurned and his resentment at receiving an assembly-line speech for his own use.

Pope Urges Negotiated Peace—But Not Now

IN A RADIO message to the world, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his consecration as bishop, Pope Pius XII took his stand in favor of a negotiated peace, at the same time saying that he realized the futility of asking or expecting any immediate steps to this end while one side is confident on the ground of successes attained and the other is hopeful of victories soon to be won. From his position of carefully guarded neutrality, the pope reiterated his own "absolute impartiality toward all belligerents." The considerable section of the address that was devoted to emphasis upon the sanctity of the family and his solemn warning to the rulers of nations not to "let the family be alienated or diverted from the high purpose assigned to it by God" suggest that his political and ecclesiastical neutrality and heart-felt sympathy with the suffering in all nations do not preclude a certain preference for the social program of one group of belligerents rather than the other. To speak a good word for peace, the pope says, is to risk giving offense to one or the other side. Nevertheless, he urges the statesmen "that they may not let any occasion pass that may open up to the nations the road to an honorable peace of justice and moderation, to a peace arising from a free and fruitful agreement, even if it should not correspond in all points to their aspirations." This reminder to national leaders to be watchful for the first opportunity to end the ruinous slaughter by a negotiated peace echoes the sentiment of many humane and Christian minds. It will win even wider approval if the emphasis is placed on the phrase, "an honorable peace of justice and moderation." Neutrality may compel the pope to confine himself to these general terms, and "absolutely impartiality" may require him to refrain from specifying the conditions which will open

the road to such a peace. But they must be defined before the duped people of the Axis nations can be persuaded that a "just and moderate" peace is within reach if they will but get rid of their gangster rulers. Here is where the importance of a Delaware Conference becomes clear.

Mr. Wallace Looks Toward A Lasting Peace

IT WAS UNFORTUNATE that the speech which Vice-President Wallace delivered before the Free World Association came on the night before Mr. Churchill's latest broadcast. The result was that the press simply gave a few inches to reporting the vice-president's warning against possible attacks in Alaska or Latin America, and let it go at that. As a matter of fact, that was a very minor part of the speech. In its other sections, subsequent release of the full text reveals, Mr. Wallace made the most important statement on the basis and nature of the coming peace so far to come from the administration. Declaring that the war is really a revolution to establish President Roosevelt's four freedoms, the vice-president enumerated four duties which must be discharged now if the four freedoms are to be gained: "The duty to produce to the limit; the duty to transport as rapidly as possible to the field of battle; the duty to fight with all that is in us; the duty to build a peace—just, charitable and enduring." "When the time of peace comes," the vice-president continued, "the citizen will again have a duty, the consumer will have a duty—the supreme duty—of sacrificing the lesser interest for the greater interest of the general welfare. Those who write the peace must think of the whole world. There can be no privileged peoples. We ourselves in the United States are no more a master race than the nazis; and we cannot perpetuate economic warfare without planting the seeds of military warfare. We must use our power at the peace table to build an economic peace that is charitable and enduring. If we really believe we are fighting for a people's peace, all the rest becomes easy." There is more hope, we repeat, for a durable peace in such words as these than in any which have previously come out of Washington.

Have We a Liquor-Sodden Capital?

THE CITY of Washington has but one reason for being. It is exclusively devoted to the business of governing the nation. At present, that means it exists to give the national war effort such guidance as will insure victory. It is shocking, therefore, to discover that the per capita consumption of alcohol in the District of Columbia is almost twice that of the next wettest state in the union. In 1940, for which figures have just been released, 4.26 gallons of liquor were consumed for every man, woman and child in the federal district. Nevada, which has boasted that it is "wide open," consumed only 2.65 gallons per person, and stood second in the list. The per capita consumption in New York was 1.35 gallons, in Illinois 1.64. Worse than that, the consumption in the District of Columbia went up from 3.8 gallons in 1939 to the 4.26 of 1940—an increase of more than 12 per cent in per capita drinking in a single year. And reports from Washington indicate that the curve of liquor consumption is steadily rising. Statistics of this kind simply cannot be explained away. They indicate a concentration of liquor indulgence at the one place in the nation where clearest heads and steadiest nerves are today most needed. The war can be lost just as easily in the cocktail parties and jammed barrooms of Washington as in the waters of the south Pacific or the factories of Detroit. If the administration does not act to end this scandal of a liquor-sodden capital, it can justly be accused of indifference to an actual fifth column which is working night and day in the interests of national defeat.

Toward One-Party Government

THE FALL CAMPAIGN for control of Congress may be said to have opened on a national scale last week. The first gun in the coming battle was fired by the publication of a 32-page supplement to the *New Republic* calling for "A Congress to Win the War." This supplement was prepared by the editors of the weekly and the Union for Democratic Action, which plans to distribute it widely in congressional districts where there are close contests. Its declared purpose is to make it possible for the American voter to distinguish between worthy and unworthy members of the expiring 77th Congress, and to insure that only those who have proved their patriotic worth shall be re-elected.

"We cannot trust in public office," says this document in explaining the reasons why it has been published, "any man whose record indicates that he lacks either the intelligence or the moral courage to wage this fight relentlessly to a successful conclusion. . . . We can trust only those who have given clear evidence of their devotion to democracy on all fronts at home and abroad." With this there will be general agreement. How does the Union for Democratic Action propose to achieve this end? The heart of its contribution to the election of a trustworthy Congress is an elaborate chart in which the votes on twenty key measures of every member of the House of Representatives and of the thirty-two senators who are up for re-election are indicated by plus and minus signs.* If the vote has been "right," it is indicated by a plus sign; if it has been "wrong," a minus sign stands on the chart. What does the chart show?

So far as the distribution of plus signs is concerned, these are overwhelmingly displayed after the names of the

*The twenty measures charted are the vote on the Guam naval base, repeal of the arms embargo, neutrality revision, military airplane appropriation, conscription, lend-lease, first lend-lease appropriation, draft extension, repeal of ban on arming ships, lifting belligerent zones, WPA bill, public works bill, NYA bill, food stamp bill, drastic labor amendments, property seizure bill, Smith anti-labor-spy bill, Wolcott price control amendment, Dies committee extension and the White river power bill.

Democratic delegations and portions of delegations from Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, the single Democratic congressman from Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia (on issues of foreign policy) and West Virginia.

On the other hand, long rows of minus signs condemn the single Democratic congressman from Idaho and from Nebraska, the Democrats from Iowa and Montana, and leave the Democrats from Ohio in a sort of fifty-fifty category. Minus signs overwhelm the Republican delegations from California, Colorado, the single Republican from Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, the Republican from Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, the Republican from Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, the Republican from Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee and Wisconsin. Plus and minus signs are fairly evenly divided in the records of the Republicans from New Hampshire, New Jersey and New York. The Progressives from Wisconsin are entirely covered with minus signs, except on a few domestic issues.

Of the senators, a preponderance of plus signs indicates approval for twenty Democrats, two Republicans and Senator Norris of Nebraska. Minus signs condemn two Democrats and six Republicans, including Johnson of Colorado, Capper of Kansas, Brooks of Illinois, Lodge of Massachusetts, Thomas of Idaho and McNary of Oregon.

It is difficult to make clear the impression conveyed by this chart by simply tabulating its results. We trust that our readers will obtain a copy and study it for themselves. If they do they will immediately see that the general picture which the chart presents is this: The "plus" states approved by the Union for Democratic Action are the states of the solid south, plus those districts of the north in which the Kelly-Nash machine in Illinois, the Hague machine in New Jersey, the Tammany machine in New York and the Guffey machine in Pennsylvania have been able to return their members to Congress. The "minus" states are those states of the midwest where the party struggle is most closely balanced. If this chart were to be translated into a map of the nation, with the "plus" states shown in white and the "minus" states in black, the south would stand out in almost pure white and the midwest in almost solid black.

Or, to put the significance of this chart in another way, it presents for approval the record in Congress of the representatives and senators who come from the one section of the nation in which there is already in operation what amounts to a fascist political order. It is in the south that we have a one-party system. It is in the south that we have racial discrimination as the basis of political and social life. It is in the south that reactionary social and labor policies are most deeply entrenched. Yet this chart holds up the south as the "plus" region for the rest of the nation to emulate. Its disapproval weighs most heavily on those states which Carl Sandburg and James Truslow Adams have called "the valley of democracy." What this chart boils down to is approval for a rubber-stamp legislature, chosen by the one-party system; it disapproves that portion of the national legislature which has given evidence of independence of executive control.

This is an amazing result. It is particularly amazing coming from an organization which calls itself a "Union for Democratic Action." We do not know much about this organization—who belongs to it, who finances it, or how it is to be distinguished from the many other organizations dedicated to the salvation of democracy which have sprung up recently with New York addresses. Its officers are Frank Kingdon, Reinhold Niebuhr, Thomas R. Amlie and James Loeb, Jr. But the implication behind this chart which this Union for Democratic Action proposes to use to determine the outcome of the congressional elections is plain. As a method of democratic action it is a plea for the election of a one-party, inert Congress which can be relied on to approve anything the executive proposes. With an executive which has already, on the plea of "emergency," destroyed the democratic safeguards which were implicit in the two-term tradition, this effort to guide the voters next fall is in reality an invitation to speed up the concentration of power in the White House. If we do not say that it is an invitation to hasten the progress of the nation toward fascism, it is only because the indiscriminate and tiresome use of that term has robbed it of most of its meaning.

Yet the truth is, as a careful examination of this extraordinary document will show, that the Union for Democratic Action does not believe its own analysis! Thus, among twenty-three representatives whom it singles out by name as meriting defeat, it includes Smith of Virginia, Cox of Georgia, Faddis of Pennsylvania, Starnes of Alabama and Dies of Texas. Yet of the fifty test votes cast by these men on matters of foreign policy—and it is foreign policy, the pamphlet makes clear, which is most at stake in the coming election—only one vote (that cast by Smith against lifting the ban on entrance by American ships into belligerent zones) fails to receive a plus mark. According to the chart, on foreign policy four of these men are 100 per cent approved, and the other 90 per cent! Even if all their votes, both foreign and domestic, are taken into account, the net result in every case is favorable! If the chart were to be received as final authority in their cases, they could claim that their re-election had been endorsed. But the U.D.A. repudiates its own chart with regard to them. Then why should that chart be followed in the case of other members of Congress?

Underlying this confused document there is, of course, anxiety on the part of its sponsors lest President Roosevelt suffer apparent repudiation from the electorate at this stage of the war. They remember what happened to President Wilson in 1918, without apparently remembering the part which Mr. Wilson's plea for a partisan Congress had in producing that tragic repudiation. They don't want that to happen again. Neither do we. We find ourselves in full accord with this anxiety. The Republicans have given no sign of a leadership which would entitle them to power at present. Their views on foreign affairs are sadly muddled; on domestic issues their influence is still on the whole reactionary. Moreover, Mr. Roosevelt deserves the support of a friendly legislature through the

crisis. But saying this is very different from holding up to the nation, as a model for democratic action, the rigid partisanship, the abdication of independent thought, which characterizes the politics of the solid south.

War Bonds and the Churches

THE METHOD adopted by the government of the United States for selling bonds to finance the war has become a trouble-making procedure in local communities and in churches. We believe it should be abandoned and the treasury authorized by law to clip from every citizen's pay envelope or salary check a reasonable percentage to apply on the purchase of war bonds or stamps so long as the war lasts. The effect of this procedure would be to spread this patriotic obligation evenly over the entire citizenship. The collection of these funds would be easy, the results far greater than the cumbersome apparatus used under the "voluntary" system can possibly yield, and the mischief-making possibilities of the present "voluntary" campaign entirely avoided.

This is the conclusion which The Christian Century has reached after observing the effects of the "volunteer" method in local neighborhoods, business organizations and in church circles, and after noting a recent Gallup poll which indicates that one-third of the population are unwilling to respond to this form of solicitation. The principle upon which this method proceeds is not genuinely voluntary. It is the principle of irresponsible social pressure, backed up by two kinds of threat: (1) that unless the citizen makes a pledge to buy bonds from month to month he will be compelled to do so by government action; (2) that unless he makes such a pledge he will become the object of social hostility. The carriers of these threats are (1) such business corporations as take the decision into their own hands and impose a deduction upon each employee's pay envelope or salary, and (2) the ardent volunteer neighborhood worker, called a "minute man," who solicits from door to door.

The action of the corporation in deciding for its employees is arbitrary, undemocratic and irresponsible. And in the case of the solicitor whose "authority" is not gracefully accepted the citizen becomes the subject of neighborhood gossip and more or less overt social hostility, while the report of his attitude is turned in by a piqued solicitor to headquarters for further investigation. The effects of this system are bad. A worker may begin with simple patriotic motives, but in the exercise of his prerogative, backed by the official threat of a compulsory alternative and by the consciousness that wartime psychology will provide him with social support if he directs suspicion against a hesitant or reluctant neighbor, the solicitor can easily enough become a super-patriotic meddler in other people's affairs. Though the solicitor is instructed to keep his (or her) information "confidential," human nature too easily finds ways of breaking this rule, and gossip spreads. All this can be avoided by legislation authorizing a just and reasonable levy on all incomes for bond purchases.

The present method of selling war bonds through all kinds of organizations, and of testing the patriotism of these organizations by their zeal in this activity, creates a dilemma for the churches which is particularly embarrassing. The treasury department in its desperate need of funds naturally sees every organization in the community, from the luncheon clubs to the public schools, as a salesmanship agency. Tremendous pressure is brought to bear from Washington to get the churches to become part of this system. The treasury has set up a department which it boldly names "The Church Press Section of the War Savings Staff of the United States Treasury," which supplies the religious press with material whereby to propagandize the churches.

The issue raised by the activity of this governmental church bureau was discussed at the recent meeting of the Church Press Association with many expressions of resentment and misgiving as to its implications. A show of hands revealed that twelve church papers represented had used some of this material and twelve had not. Among those who used it, the misgivings were hardly less pronounced than among those who had refrained, and the record shows that they used it with such parsimony as to make their contribution practically negligible. A New York banker appeared at the meeting of these editors with a request that he be given time to address them on bond sale promotion. He was acting, he said, under instructions from the treasury department, and disclosed that he had been appointed a deputy commissioner of the treasury department to visit church conventions throughout the country to enlist the churches in war bond promotion.

Reports come from local communities and congregations indicating that the churches and their pastors are being put "on the spot" in a fashion which makes compliance difficult to resist. A sheaf of reports sent out by the treasury's church bureau misleadingly conveys the impression that local churches all over the country are cooperating in the promotion of bond sales, whereas the probability is that many of these instances represent only the investment of idle funds (such as building funds frozen by wartime restrictions) in government bonds—a proper business procedure which no more diverts the churches from their normal activity than to invest such funds in the bonds of any private business corporation. Misleading reports of cooperation by Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths emanate from the treasury department which, when examined, show only that certain individuals with ecclesiastical titles are being exploited as if they were acting in an official capacity for their organizations.

It is known that the Federal Council of Churches has been under great pressure to bring the churches in line as agencies of the state in this matter. The resolution adopted at the May meeting of its executive committee (see Correspondence from New York in this issue, page 710) discloses in its studied phrasing the tension caused by this pressure. The resolution should be read with this in mind. A purist will not be satisfied with it, but we believe that it resolved the Federal Council's dilemma

with as wise an action as could be devised. Carefully avoiding the term "war bonds," it asks Christian citizens to invest in "government bonds" and bases its appeal, not upon the war effort, but upon the public duty of preventing inflation.

The resolution appears to assume that by addressing its appeal, not to the churches as such, but to Christians as citizens, it thereby avoids involving the churches. This, of course, would be a fallacy. For the Federal Council is itself an organ of the churches, and its promotion of the sale of bonds is in principle and in effect an act of the churches. We could wish that the resolution had not repeated the treasury's subterfuge formula about the churches not being asked to engage in the *selling* of bonds, as if the *promotion* of their sale was different in principle from the actual carrying out of the transaction. But such points should not be exaggerated.

If the resolution seems to compromise the church, these very points at which it is subject to criticism also reveal the struggle which the church is making to resist compromise and to define and maintain its dissociation from the war. This marks distinct progress. In the last war the churches in general had no qualms, and almost no consciousness, with respect to this issue, but followed with utter docility in the train of secular organizations which went all out for all war measures. The church is at last becoming aware of the incompatibility of such a course with its nature and true function.

The government is making a mistake—we believe it is an unintentional mistake—in subjecting the church to the pressure of war fervor to make it assume a function which contradicts its own genius. Unhappily there is no awareness in government circles of the fact that the church is striving in the present war to be the *church,* in a sense in which it failed to be the church during previous wars. It has pretty generally committed itself to the principle that the church is not at war. And it is seeking to understand, on the one hand, what this means for its positive and characteristic function in wartime and, on the other hand, what it means by way of dissociation from the war itself.

That there is a lack of clarity among churchmen as to both the positive and negative implications of this basic principle of the church's genius, is conceded. Only during the short interim between the two world wars has the church earnestly addressed itself to the problem. But on one thing its enlightened leadership is determined, namely, that the Christian church shall come out of this war without having reproduced the spectacle it made in the last war and for which it has repented in sackcloth and ashes throughout the past two decades.

Government officials and the secular community in general have not been informed of this development in the conscience of the church. The treasury department is proceeding on the bland assumption that it may rightly include the church among the agencies upon which it can appropriately call for overt support of the nation's war effort. But there has come into existence in the consciousness of the church a conception of its own nature and function which presents a barrier to this encroachment of the state upon the church. Its members, as citizens, are in the war, but the church, as church, is not at war.

The church is not a citizen of the state, and its obligation to render service to the state derives not from any claim which the state may make, but from the essential nature of the church which, under Christ its living Head, is the embodiment and spokesman of an authority higher than the authority of the state. It can render its supreme service to the state by being the *church,* not by allowing itself to be made an appendage to the state or an agency of the state, even in wartime—more particularly in wartime, for a war spells the breakdown of every principle for which the Christian church stands. It cannot lend itself—its organizations, its office bearers, its pastors, its pulpits, its buildings—to the support of a war without stultifying its own nature and thus compromising Christ.

The pressure brought to bear upon the church to engage in the promotion of bond sales finds an instructive analogy in a recent incident in Great Britain where a cathedral was used for a public meeting at which the call to national service was sounded by a minister of the crown. This called forth an approving letter to the London *Times* in which the hope was expressed "that the precedent thus set will bring our cathedrals all through the land into full use in a great Christian cause." "It is devoutly to be hoped that it will not," was the prompt and decisive comment by Dr. J. H. Oldham, whose mind has been more influential than that of any other Christian leader in holding the British churches steadily to their essential function throughout the war.

Writing in his *Christian News-Letter,* Dr. Oldham points out that if the cathedrals are to be used for this purpose, it would follow naturally that the churches and chapels should also be used. His further comment is so sound and so pertinent to the crisis in which the American church now stands that we quote it here:

> To speak of the war as "a great Christian cause" is a misleading use of language. . . . The differences between what we stand for and what our enemies stand for are important enough to justify the price of defending what we believe to be a higher way of life. But that is very different from saying that the national cause is a Christian cause. Christianity belongs to a quite different dimension. It is something that judges us and our cause as well as our enemies. And it is precisely in this recognition of something above us by which we ourselves are continually judged that there is any hope for the future. The distinction between the claims of God and of Caesar is the foundation of European civilization. . . .
>
> The existence of our cathedrals and churches is a witness to the worship of a God enthroned above the nation. Their general use for national purposes would confuse the vital distinction between the spheres of the church and the earthly state. No one would question that there is a relation between our worship and the life-and-death struggle in which we are at present engaged in defense of what we believe to be higher values. All that that struggle means must be lifted up in worship. For this reason no hard and fast rule can be laid down regarding the use of church buildings. What must never be lost sight of is that the worship of a holy God does not mean the endorsement of our own understanding of the national cause, but is a call to test it continually in the light of eternal standards in order that our purposes may be purified and raised to a higher level.

The greatest triumph of British Christianity in this war has been its clear and consistent resistance to all attempts to make the church a party to the war effort. This has

been accomplished under a pressure of suffering and dread which, please God, the civilian population of the United States will not be called upon to match. It has been accomplished also under the handicap of an established church, in contrast to the system of separation of church and state which obtains here. But the fact that, after nearly three years of fighting, the use of a church building for a war meeting was so rare as to cause comment, and that it should meet with prompt criticism such as this by Dr. Oldham, shows how successfully British Christians have kept alive the ecumenical conviction that the Christian church is not at war. If the American churches, after only six months of fighting, yield thus early to the initial encroachments of the state, they will be confronted at the end of the war with a record of smothering of their Christian witness as ignoble as that which they made—and have penitently deplored—in the last war.

We believe that the total task of financing the war should be lifted from the irresponsible shoulders of volunteers and placed by law squarely on the shoulders of the entire population. This is the democratic way. There is no principle which calls for a distinction between taxes and the purchase of war bonds. But if the government insists on its present method, despite the social resentments and injustices which flow from its operation, we enter, on behalf of the churches, an earnest plea that it withdraw its pressure upon the churches, recognizing the embarrassment and injustice which its clumsy approach has produced, and recognizing also how near it comes in its present procedure to a violation of the American principle of separation of church and state.

Am I a Bore?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: There was a preacher once who ended a solemn sermon by words like these: "Let each one of us go to our homes and ask ourselves the question, 'Am I a goat?' Amen." It was an unhappy peroration to a discourse, but a question of serious moment. I propose to ask myself and each of my readers to put another question of less importance, but still important enough: "Am I a bore?"

At once your analytic mind will suggest that the question cannot be answered, for when a man knows himself to be a bore he automatically ceases to be one. It is of a bore, as the Romans would have said, not to know he is one. It is not uncommon to hear such a man making fun of others, using words such as these, "The fellow's such a bore, but bless my soul, he has no idea of it!"

The problem is not how to detect this fault in others; that is easy enough. It is rather how to test ourselves. We know the bore when we see him, and wildly look for ways of escape. But is there any scientific test that we can apply to ourselves?

Here I come to the purpose of this discourse. I have learned a certain test. There was a senior statesman who gave advice to a younger statesman when he confessed his diffidence on rising to speak in a certain assembly. "My dear fellow," said this Nestor, "there is no reason whatever to be frightened. In this place all you have to do is to speak as long as you like and as often as you like. You will rapidly acquire that contempt for your audience which every bore always has."

Contempt for his audience, small or large, is the mark of a bore. *Every bore always and everywhere has it.*

Once upon a time there were six men who met together after they had been speaking in six places to six audiences. There was an observer present who had heard that one of them was an Abysmal Bore, and being himself a student of human character he set himself to discover which was the man.

They spoke freely of their adventures that evening. Of course their speeches had all gone well. Of course all of them displayed more or less of that delight in their own prowess which marks all or nearly all orators, without an alloy of which there would be no oratory. But there was one man who had done well, of course, but as he put it, "That was easy enough with those half-wits. Really I began to wonder whether it was worth while to take the trouble to enlighten their thick skulls. Still one must do one's best, even with such people."

"That is the man!" the observer said at once. And on making inquiry he found that the audience had been prevented from stampeding only by their Christian education. "The man bored us extremely," they said. "He spoke below our heads; he seemed more concerned to get his opinions out than to speak to us; we signed an appeal to the people who sent him to let his admitted gifts be used upon the people in a neighboring city, where they deserved such a fate."

It comes to this: when I begin to have a contempt for my audience, then at once I can suspect myself and say, "Good heavens, I am it!"

Ever yours solemnly,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

For Memorial Day 1942

I HAVE a rendezvous to keep
When tolling bells no longer swing
And bugles break the heart of song
And mesmerize the ears of spring.

I could not turn away this spring
(With bugles sobbing taps anew
For older dead and dying men)
Until I keep that rendezvous.

The bugles tease some hearts to tears,
But they are more than I can bear
"When spring comes back with rustling shade"
And lads who loved it fight despair.

I have a rendezvous with shame
When flags and wreaths are carried by;
And I shall keep it on my knees
In prayer for us, who lived a lie.

ARTHUR R. MACDOUGALL, JR.

The Things Which Make for Peace

XVI. How Can the Christian Church Prepare for the New World Order?

By Ernest Fremont Tittle

THE MESSAGE of the church is not dependent upon the fortunes of history. Irrespective of who wins the present war, the church is bidden to say: "The Lord our God, the Almighty, reigneth"; "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself" and has "committed unto us the word of reconciliation"; "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you."

I

The church, beginning with its own members, should develop faith in the *possibility* of a just and durable peace. Even within the churches there are those who, although they look for a final triumph of God beyond history, have no hope of better conditions on earth. But as John Macmurray puts it, "It is nonsensical to think that God's intention in history will not be realized." And they who have seen God in Christ may surely believe that the divine intention, whatever it may be, does not forever permit of such hellish and idiotic conduct as history in our time has witnessed. Must the sons of men always be called to sacrifice their careers and go forth to kill or be killed? Must the cities of men always be reduced to rubble by the latest and most effective instruments of destruction and their inhabitants be reduced to the status of moles living under ground? To believe that in history such things are inevitable is, I cannot but think, to deny the revelation of God in Christ.

II

The church, beginning with its own members, should call for repentance. Of repentance and forgiveness, love is born; and love, if we had it, would use our available intelligence to find a way out of the world's misery. But "he to whom little is forgiven has but little love." We have little love because we are self-righteous men who feel no need to repent and seek the forgiveness of God. When the First World War was in progress, we did not think of our own sins but only of the sins of our enemies. On our side was all virtue; on their side, all villainy. *We* were the champions of democracy, morality and Christianity; *they* were Huns, seeking to destroy a humane and civilized culture. There were, it is true, lone individuals who recognized the moral realities of the situation. The Right Reverend Charles Gore, then bishop of Oxford, prayed: "Forgive the cruelty, the ambition, the foolish pride, the heartless schemes, of which the world's rulers have been guilty. Teach us everywhere to repent and to amend. Help us so to use our present afflictions, which come from us and not from Thee, that we may build on the ruins of our evil past a firm and lasting peace." But such prayer, even within the Christian churches, was most unusual. The war, far from leading us to repent of our sins and seek the forgiveness of God, merely confirmed us in our egoism and self-righteousness; and when it was over we were not inwardly prepared for peace but only for a vindictive settlement that set the stage for another world war. There is no hope for the world so long as its policies and practices are dictated by self-righteous men who feel no need of forgiveness. Under God, the salvation of the world depends upon the appearance of increasing numbers of penitent men who, having no illusions about themselves, knowing that they are neither good nor wise, do not seek to punish others but only to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with God.

How shall the vanquished be treated? It is now commonly agreed that at the close of hostilities food, clothing, shelter and medical service should at once be given to all suffering peoples, without distinction of friend or foe. But what of disarmament? Shall it be universal or one-sided? The last of the eight points of the Atlantic Charter calls for the disarming of the Axis nations and voices the hope that the burden of armaments now resting on other nations may eventually be lightened. On this point, however, Mr. Churchill has subsequently said: "We intend to take ample precaution against its [war's] renewal in any period we can foresee by effectively disarming the guilty nations while remaining suitably protected ourselves." Moreover, there are those in high places who are advocating that Germany be not only disarmed but dismembered and policed for a period of, say, five years after the fighting ends. And there are many who believe that Britain and the United States should together maintain for an indefinite period a preponderance of naval and air power. Indeed, the American secretary of the navy has gone so far as to propose that the Anglo-Saxon powers undertake to dominate the world for the next one hundred years. For these proposals three reasons are being urged. First, Germany cannot be trusted. Second, Great Britain and the United States, if given a preponderance of military power, could be trusted to maintain law and order and to labor for the good of all mankind. Third, "corrective justice" must be done. There should be a preliminary settlement or truce in which the German people are made to realize that aggression "brings calamity to the aggressor as well as to his victims."

The belief that Germany cannot be trusted is understandable. One can easily understand it, even though he feels bound to suppose that it does not take full account of wrongs done *to* Germany but only of wrongs done *by* Germany. Enough wrong has been done by Germany, especially in recent years, to create terrible fear that no German government can be trusted. But the question remains: Can a just and durable peace be achieved in a world where some nations are forcibly disarmed and others remain armed to the teeth? The answer, I feel quite sure, is No. In 1919, Germany *was* disarmed on the understanding that her conquerors themselves would, before long, disarm; and the peace which was thus made on the basis of a one-sided disarmament did not last. When the fighting ends, Europe may be threatened with anarchy,

There will undoubtedly be need of policing. But the policing should be done under an international authority and not under the sole direction of the victors.

As for the belief that Great Britain and the United States, if given a preponderance of military power, could be trusted to maintain law and order and to labor for the good of all mankind—that, surely, is utopian. It is doubtful that even angels or archangels, if given a preponderance of military power, could be trusted to act wholly unselfishly. And we can hardly claim to be angels! We must recognize the truth in Lord Acton's saying: "All power is corrupting; absolute power is absolutely corrupting." Given a preponderance of naval and air power, we could be trusted to maintain a political status quo that was advantageous to ourselves and to act in what we conceived to be our own interest, especially in the economic field. But could we, if given enough power to dominate the world, be trusted to act always and only for the good of the world? Hardly! That would be expecting too much of human nature.

And what shall be said of the demand for "corrective justice"? The new Archbishop of Canterbury has said: "There must be no new generation growing up under the embittering conditions of a penal peace." He advocates, however, a preliminary settlement in which "corrective justice" will be meted out to the German people. His argument is: There must be no condonation of evil. If we were capable of taking the cost of forgiveness upon ourselves, as Christ did upon the cross, we might thus express "the antagonism of holiness against evil." But "no nation has ever been Christian in a degree that makes that possible, and where it is not possible, infliction of a just penalty is nearer to Christian righteousness than such action as seems to condone the wrong." The question is not "what a perfectly righteous England might achieve, but what is the best that sinful England may hope to do." But to this an American, though he may not preach to England, may venture to reply: The best that the sinful United States may hope to do is to repent of its sins and undertake to right the wrongs which it has itself committed, trusting God to maintain the moral order of the world. When it comes to human action, justice is more likely to be upheld by those who, repenting of their sins, undertake to do justice than by those who, deploring the sins of others, undertake to mete out "corrective justice."

If we want a peace that can last, we must seek international relations that admit of friendliness and good will. And it is hardly to be expected that a dictated settlement would produce such relations. Indeed, in view of what is now being advocated on both sides of the conflict, we are, I think, bound to suppose that a dictated peace would again set the stage for war. Captain B. H. Liddell-Hart, the distinguished English expert in military affairs, has had the courage to say: "A long war tends to a bad peace. Britain has won only two wars decisively in a thousand years—against Napoleon and the Kaiser—and certainly in the last case the fight to the finish had bitter fruits. You may call me a defeatist, as some do, but I still insist that victory has less to offer than an indecisive war which ends with an agreed peace. The idea of complete and overwhelming victory is the greatest folly on earth. Such victories only lead to bankruptcy, moral as well as economic."

If we want a peace that can last, we must be prepared, *at the earliest favorable moment,* to initiate a movement for the cessation of hostilities and the convening of a world conference to seek an international program such as would offer to all peoples security, opportunity and hope. We may perhaps find ourselves doing this under military necessity. But it would be far more likely to succeed if it were done under conviction of sin, clear-eyed recognition that we are all responsible for conditions that have bred war and that we are not morally capable, any of us, of *dictating* a just and durable peace.

III

The church, beginning with its own members, should call for the subordination of desire for private gain to the welfare of the community—the total human community. We were the first in history to be given the means—mechanical, industrial, technological—of assuring to all men the essential economic basis of life and growth. But in our hands these God-given means of production became satanic means of destruction. Why? Because human ambition was misdirected. Had we sought first, as we were bidden to do, the Kingdom of God and his righteousness, all things that human beings need for their preservation and development would have been added unto us. But we sought first monetary gain and privilege and prestige. In defiance of the righteousness of God we sought individual advantage and national aggrandizement. Hence our industrial process, being directed to false ends, was unable to perform its natural function of supplying the needs of men. And now, things that we need for our preservation and development are being taken from us.

The true end of production is consumption—not merely a limited consumption such as may bring a maximum profit to investors, but a standard of living for all people that accords with the wealth-producing capacity of a given time. Unless this comes to be widely recognized, there will be no lasting peace on earth. If "equal access to markets and raw materials" should result only in a universal opportunity to carry on production with a view to gain for invested capital, what benefit would accrue to the common man in any nation? Or if government, taking ownership or control of industry, should carry on production with a view merely to national advantage or to the advantage of a privileged bureaucracy, what gain would accrue to mankind?

It is not to be expected that the masses of men will forever consent to economic conditions that make for mass unemployment and bitter poverty in the midst of possible abundance. In a recent editorial the London *Times* significantly said: "Men of vision cannot fail to see that humanity is passing at the moment through the fires of social revolution as well as of universal war, and that the world which will emerge from the ordeal will in many respects think and believe and act differently from the world of the past." Undoubtedly, the postwar world will be different from the world of the past. We shall not go back to laissez faire. A planned economy of some kind we now seem destined to have. The all-important question is, Will the planning be done under some form of totalitarianism that

denies to the individual every freedom that is essential to his development, or will it be done on a voluntary basis by men who recognize that the true end of production is the satisfaction of human needs and who, in service to the community, find great reward? The answer greatly depends upon the loyalty of churchmen to One who came not to be ministered unto but to minister.

IV

The church, beginning with its own members, should help people to see that the claim of absolute national sovereignty is a presumptuous and fatal denial of the sovereignty of God. Human beings the world around are bound together for better, for worse. If a nation chooses to act in complete disregard of the welfare of other nations, as the United States did in the Smoot-Hawley tariff act, it does not thereby gain for itself the particular advantage it seeks. It merely contributes to a world-engulfing insecurity in which its own people, before long, find themselves involved. Yet a world that is, in fact, interdependent is at the mercy of national states, each of which claims the right to act in what it conceives to be its own interest, irrespective of the consequences elsewhere. Nations that have an abundant capital equipment and that own or control essential industrial raw materials undertake by tariffs, quotas and other devices to maintain for themselves a high standard of living at no matter what cost to others. Imperial powers undertake to dominate the markets and direct the imports of their non-self-governing colonies. And "hungry nations" run amuck: human beings, becoming discouraged, reject a moderate leadership that is apparently unable to find a peaceful solution of pressing economic problems and, seeing no other way out of their predicament, accept a leadership that calls for ruthless acts of aggression. The League of Nations, instead of being used to remedy conditions that are making for war, becomes a tool in the hands of its dominant members for maintaining a status quo of inequality and injustice.

It is now quite clear that modern states will have to accept some limitation on national sovereignty if a humane and civilized culture is to endure on earth. Nations must undertake to avoid action that may adversely affect others. Also, they must be prepared to accept a large measure of international control over markets, raw materials, foreign exchange and credit. God *is* the Ruler of the world. To his law nations as well as individuals are subject.

V

The church, beginning with its own members, must help people to recognize the sinfulness of racial discrimination and of exploitation of any group of human beings.

When the Covenant of the League of Nations was being drafted, Baron Makino, in behalf of the Japanese delegation, proposed to amend Article XXI, which endorsed the principle of religious equality, by adding the following: "The equality of nations being a basic principle of the League of Nations, the high contracting parties agree to accord, as soon as possible, to all alien nationals of states members of the league, equal and just treatment in every respect, making no distinction, either in law or fact, on account of their race or nationality." But this proposal did not get to first base. In *Versailles Twenty Years After* Professor Paul Birdsall writes: "Lord Robert Cecil had the thankless task of rejecting the proposal on behalf of the British empire delegation, and his words reveal why it was rejected. He said there had been long and difficult discussions of the race question within the British empire delegation; that it raised 'extremely serious problems within the British empire.' He admired the nobility of thought which inspired Makino's proposal, but the matter was so highly controversial that 'he thought it wiser for the moment to postpone examination.' Colonel House accordingly withdrew Article XXI entirely, since with the removal of the religious equality clause, there was no basis for the Japanese amendment." Nor was it only the British who did not favor the Japanese proposal. Reports from Washington made it quite clear that the United States would refuse to ratify the Covenant if it contained any such provision. Subsequently the Japanese undertook to have inserted in the preamble of the Covenant the words ". . . by the endorsement of the principle of the equality of nations and the just treatment of their nationals." But even this crumb of comfort was denied them.

Another revealing episode of 1919 was President Wilson's attempt to persuade the Japanese to return Kiaochow and Shantung to China, relinquishing all sovereign rights and reducing their claim to economic concessions. On this, Professor Birdsall writes: "Wilson tried to appeal to sentiment and principle. He maintained that all special spheres of influence in China ought to be abandoned. The Japanese politely agreed to take their part in any such laudable policy but remarked that neither Lloyd George nor Clemenceau had as yet responded to that idea. . . . In desperation Wilson again sounded Lloyd George on the proposal that all powers forego special rights in China, but 'the British government could not agree.'"

Lasting peace cannot be established on the basis of imperialism. President Roosevelt has said: "There never has been, is not now, and never will be any race of people fit to serve as masters over their fellow men." This is true; and it is relevant not only to Germany, Italy and Japan but to the United States and Britain as well. The President has further said: "We believe that any nationality, no matter how small, has the inherent right to its own nationhood." This also is true; and it is relevant not only to Denmark, Holland and Norway but to the Philippine islands, India, Burma, Indo-China and Malaysia as well. Racial discrimination, unequal treaties, exploitation of helpless peoples for the enrichment and aggrandizement of a privileged class—these things make for war and not for peace. The church must now make it abundantly clear that these things are morally wrong; that from the Christian standpoint they are exceedingly sinful, being a denial of the universal fatherhood of God and a defiance of the righteousness of God revealed in Jesus Christ. Lasting peace can be established only on the basis of equal opportunity for all men, without distinction of race, nation, color or class.

The concluding article in this series, which will be published next week, will be by Dr. George A. Buttrick, of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York.

Hate, Radio and Morale

By Fred Eastman

ARCH OBOLER, one of the top-notch radio drama writers now being utilized by the federal government to build public morale, was addressing some six hundred members of the thirteenth Institute for Education by Radio at Columbus, Ohio, on May 5. Our boys must kill, he said in substance. They must pull triggers and spill blood. They must use bayonets to disembowel Japs and Germans. To be able to do this they must first be taught to hate. Wars are not won by writing peace treaties or by loving your enemies. Wars are won with guns, and beyond guns with hate. We who work in radio must impregnate them and the public with that hate.

Mr. Oboler declared that he had received many letters in response to his recent series of radio dramas, "Plays for Americans." These letters asked him to "make us angry; we like it. We need anger to lead us to determination. We need hate to enable us to endure the coming death of our sons and fathers and husbands." In the midst of his address he included this prayer:

> Dear Almighty, may we in this session stop chasing our academic tails in meaningless circles. May we remember that there is a war going on and that time is "awasting" and that to waste time and physical energy worrying about definitions and terminologies and patting each other's backs is a sin against you and the men who have died and will die in this war. May we, dear Almighty, face this problem factually, realistically, and with a minimum of damn foolishness.

Leaving the Almighty to think this over (and possibly to compare it with Mark Twain's famous prayer), Mr. Oboler returned to his human audience. "Don't tell me," he insisted, "that people are disillusioned and need a dream of a new world before they will fight! Joe Doakes fights this war, not you. Joe Doakes wants a reason to hate that Jap or that nazi he is going to meet in Australia or Norway, and right now he doesn't particularly give a damn whether you give that Jap or that nazi breathing space in the peace to come."

A 'Strategy' for Morale

His speech brought prolonged applause from the majority of the members of the institute. Undoubtedly, part of the emotionalism of the playwright stemmed from his impatience and pique at the previous evening's panel discussion on "Radio and Wartime Morale" by Edward Bernays, public relations expert; Lyman Bryson, educational director of C.B.S.; George V. Denny, Jr., director of the Town Meeting of the Air; Sherman Dryer, radio director of the University of Chicago Round Table; Prof. Carl J. Friedrich of Harvard; Robert Landry, radio editor of *Variety;* and Victor Sholis of the Clear Channel Broadcasting Service. This panel in a three-hour session had tried to arrive at a "grand strategy" for building public morale through the use of radio. Although participants had not agreed on a strategy, they had concurred in emphasizing the importance of knowledge of war aims and peace aims, belief in those aims and definite action to attain them. Some had stressed the necessity of inserting propaganda in soap operas and other commercial programs as well as throughout the sustaining and governmental ones.

At a still earlier session three prominent news analysts —H. V. Kaltenborn, Gregory Ziemer and Morgan Beatty —had dealt with the subject of radio news reports and the extent to which freedom of the air should now be allowed to those who had not supported the government's foreign policy before Pearl Harbor. Mr. Kaltenborn thought such time should be refused. His only exception would be some congressman who had since established his status as a representative of the people by being re-elected by his constituency.

All this seemed "chasing academic tails" to Mr. Oboler. He apparently felt, also, that his own dramatic efforts to arouse the emotions of the American public had not been properly appreciated. So he erupted. For the next hour the assembly fed on hate. Delegates from various sections of the country asked for specific suggestions as to how they could spread the dark passion over their local radio stations.

A Voice from Britain

Then someone noted the presence in the audience of Stephen Fry, of the British Broadcasting Company. How, he was asked, had the British managed to stir up the desired hatred? Quietly he answered that the B.B.C. had no wish to foster hatred. The British public had refused to hate in spite of all the provocation the nazis had inflicted. In fact the British unwillingness to hate had, in his opinion, proved the mettle of the British people and demonstrated that they were worth saving. This quiet answer turned the emotional tide. From then on saner counsels prevailed. But Mr. Oboler returned to Washington, presumably to write more radio dramas of the type which will inflame the public.

This episode highlights one of the most critical problems facing the American people. Stated baldly it is this: Is public morale strengthened or weakened by making radio a medium for the spreading of hate? The answer involves certain basic considerations.

1. *The freedom of radio.* One reason the American people cannot stomach Hitler is that he has destroyed the freedom of his people—including the freedom of their radio. He took it over first as a "defense measure," turned it into a propaganda machine for his one-party system, and then prostituted it to the business of indoctrinating Germans with nazism and instilling in them hatred of other peoples. Observing that prostitution of German radio, Americans have said, "Thank heaven, we still have our freedom! Our radio belongs to us, not to a totalitarian state. It gives us unbiased news, provides entertainment to suit all tastes, and contributes much to our general culture and to our appreciation of the arts and sciences. It is free *from* political control; it is free *for*

public service. That's a precious possession of democracy —one of the freedoms most worth defending."

But when Americans see this powerful medium increasingly regimented, its freedom curtailed, its critical functions abrogated, and both its entertainment and its educational features permeated with propaganda—especially a propaganda of hate—they feel uneasy. The shadow of something sinister disturbs them. They know, of course, that our federal administration acts with the best of motives, that there is nothing of Hitler's demonic quality in Mr. Roosevelt. But they ask, "Are we not permitting a precedent here that can be turned by a later administration to mischievous use?"

A Sinister Shadow

2. *The nature of hate.* Our young dramatists would do well to consider the psychological nature of this weapon of hate by which they seek to improve our morale. Hatred is a consuming fire. *It destroys the hater as well as the hated.* A man cannot take fire into his bosom and not be burned. The dramatists may fan this flame, but they cannot control it. Some day—and sooner than they think —it will spread through our own midst and blaze out in race riots, in conflicts between capital and labor, and in the violent rebellion of our dispossessed sharecroppers.

3. *The religious sensibilities of the American people.* About half our population are church members—Catholic, Protestant or Jewish. Each faith has certain customs and traditions which it holds sacred. Radio writers, as a general rule, respect these and carefully avoid giving offense concerning them. No sane radio speaker, for example, would think of urging Catholics to eat meat on Friday or Jews to eat pork at any time. Much less would he ask Catholics to stay away from mass, or Jews to disregard the Mosaic law, or Protestants to stop reading Bibles.

What, then, can be said for the sanity of radio speakers and dramatists who urge Catholics, Protestants and Jews to violate a law which is common to all of them? For fundamental in all of these faiths is the command not to hate our enemies but to love them. The prophets and heroes of both Jewish and Christian religions, from Amos and Isaiah to Jesus and St. Paul, have preached this as the law of God to the human race. When Jesus hung on the cross he prayed, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Our own Lincoln, although not a church member, reached the height of religious grandeur in his Second Inaugural: "With malice toward none, with charity for all . . . " To be sure, we have not always obeyed the divine command, but it is enshrined in the holy of holies of our memories and in our better moments we know that it is the only true way to the good life for the individual and for society.

An Attack on Religion

What happens, then, when a Christian or a Jew tunes in his radio and hears a gospel of hate? He feels that he is listening to something opposed to the deepest insights of his religion, something disobedient to the supreme command of God and in violation of the dignity of man himself. So he tunes off that program. Here, in all probability, is the reason the recent series of propaganda dramas have failed. The dramatists need not blame their technique; they should seek to understand better the religious nature of the American people.

4. *The basis of morale.* Confidence is the ultimate basis of morale—confidence in the ideas and values which underlie our way of life, confidence in the justice of our war aims and peace aims, in the health of our democracy, in the integrity of our leaders and in the wisdom of our methods. The propagandists of hate overlook these wellsprings of morale. They seem to think that the war is being fought on the military front alone. They forget, for the moment at least, that an even more important war is being waged on the idea front.

For, at bottom, this is a war of ideas—ideas about the nature and destiny of man and his society. On one side is the notion that man belongs to the state; that he has no dignity apart from that with which membership in the state invests him; and that the final authority of the state is force. On the other side is the notion that the state belongs to man; that man belongs to God; that man has dignity because he is a child of God; that God has given him certain inalienable rights including the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that the final authority of man's corporate state is not force but the consent of the governed.

Ideas in Conflict

Between these two ideas and the values that grow out of them hangs the destiny of civilization. It would be entirely possible for us to win the military war and yet lose the war of ideas. If we go fascist by adopting totalitarian ideas and methods in order to defeat fascism abroad our real battle is lost, no matter how the military one comes out. If, on the other hand, we hold fast to the ideas and values and methods of democracy as the things most worth preserving in civilization, we shall win the war of ideas even though the military war be temporarily lost. Winston Churchill exemplified the highest morale when he said, "We believe that the spirit and temperament bred under institutions of freedom will prove more enduring and resilient than anything that can be got out of the most efficiently imposed mechanical discipline."

The trouble with the propagandists who are trying to build our morale out of hatred is that they do not have this faith expressed by Mr. Churchill. They seem as unaware of the political and cultural ideas that underlie democracy as they are of the religious sensibilities of the American people. A radio that forgets these basic ideas, or adjourns them "for the duration" while it makes itself a medium for the spreading of hate, will weaken morale. It may ultimately destroy its own usefulness by destroying the people's confidence in it as a free agency of democracy. For the American people will continue to tune off dramas of hate. We know that neither our salvation nor our victory lies along that easy road. The health of democracy, not its hate, is its best propaganda. If radio will devote its power and its talent to dramatizing the ideas and values, the leaders and crises, of democracy it will contribute enormously to that health. Morale will then take care of itself.

The Strategy of Face-to-Face

By James Myers

"THOSE two men ought to be run out of town," said an influential layman to his pastor. "They are subversive and a dangerous influence in the community." He was referring to a labor leader in the town and a liberal professor in a near-by college. The pastor smiled kindly at his excited parishioner. Then, quietly, "Have you ever met those men?" he inquired. "No, I haven't, but what's that got to do with it?" "It might have quite a lot to do with it," replied the pastor, still smiling. "Would you be willing to meet them, with me, in my study for an evening's acquaintance?" This was agreed upon. The little group met many times and no one has been run out of town.

This incident, which occurred in an eastern city, is a small illustration but it carries the germ of a big idea. Force or coercion of some kind is the first thought of most people when they feel that something needs to be done to obtain their own rights or to suppress those with whom they do not agree. There are many degrees of coercion ranging from the extreme brutality of war to various methods employed by "pressure groups" which seek to impose their will on others in one form or another.

The Compulsions of Humility

Certain forms of non-violent pressure are no doubt ethically justifiable. In fact they become ethically urgent, in order to draw dramatic attention to injustice, deplorable conditions or violations of human rights and to seek a remedy. Farm organizations, labor organizations, employers' associations, racial groups and others have all employed such methods, though the line at which these procedures cease to be ethically justifiable and become forms of selfish coercion is sometimes hard to define. I speak now, however, for another kind of compulsion—the compulsion of humility.

The compulsions of humility, understanding and reconciliation through personal acquaintance have never been tried systematically between economic groups and in social relations *where inherent conflicts of interest exist.* It has been of special interest, therefore, to participate in a number of recent small experimental meetings attended by persons drawn purposely from economic groups between which there are natural conflicts of interest, and perhaps still greater prejudices and lack of understanding: employers and labor representatives (A. F. of L., C. I. O.), farmers from near-by areas, city consumers, Negroes, WPA workers, unemployed men and women, and church representatives—Protestant, Catholic and Jewish.

It is promised in advance that there will be no publicity whatever about the conference or anything that is said; that there will be no commitments asked of anyone who attends; no resolutions will be adopted; no literature will be displayed or sold; no new organizations will be formed; and no contributions will be requested. For these reasons it has been found possible to secure the attendance of many persons who would not come to an ordinary conference or engage in public debate over controversial issues. In addition, the atmosphere of these informal conferences is disarming. No one "makes a speech" or feels called upon to defend *in toto* the position of his group. In fact, an atmosphere of confession and humility often develops as "the other fellow's" point of view comes to be understood. The group is encouraged to be perfectly frank but friendly in its discussion of controversial issues, economic conditions, hardships and injustices, as well as in putting forward constructive suggestions.

Getting Results

The indirect results of informal conferences are no doubt far-reaching as men and women with changed attitudes go back into their own occupational groups. But things also happen immediately which can be seen and heard. I can cite only a few here. Perhaps one of the most striking incidents occurred in an informal conference in an industrial city in the east when a Negro pastor described how practically impossible it was for a Negro to secure employment except in menial positions, no matter how capable, educated and well trained he might be. A sense of personal community guilt fell upon the group. Various aspects of the situation were discussed, including attitudes of employers, unions, churches and the public. Although no resolutions were adopted and no action was taken, a few days later one of the prominent employers who had been present telephoned the Negro pastor and asked him to recommend eight colored workmen, and they all got the skilled jobs and high wages to which they were justly entitled.

Equally healthy was the correction of a misunderstanding on the part of a prominent labor leader who alleged widespread unfair practice in hiring by a certain industry. Instead of prejudicial statements being spread throughout the city, the facts were made available and the misunderstanding was cleared up. On the other hand, extreme opposition by certain employers to labor's right to organize and unfair newspaper reporting were described by labor men, with the result that a new and fairer attitude was born in some who were present.

At an informal conference in a city in the middle west one of the subjects for discussion which emerged was farmer-labor conflict and misunderstanding. A few days later a near-by farm organization telephoned the council of churches and asked them to recommend a labor union leader to speak at a farm meeting. At another meeting, labor leaders pointed out frankly how remiss in social understanding and ineffective in action they felt most churches to be. Two ministers immediately invited the labor men to "come tell it to our congregations."

The Role of Ignorance

Again, a minister was deeply horrified upon learning at one of these conferences that certain proposed social legislation to safeguard the health of industrial workers

had failed of passage, even though human life had been at stake. "I didn't know anything about it," said the minister. "When saw we thee . . . ?" On another occasion, some labor men were astonished to hear an employer describe his worry each week over securing funds, often by borrowing at the bank, to meet the payroll. Some workers have a general idea that payrolls just drop down from heaven (or more likely come up from Hades).

It is a moving experience to listen, as I have listened at several of these conferences, to representatives of farmers, labor and employers declare that, while they have been fighting for what they consider their just rights, they are aware that their programs have not always sufficiently taken into account "the interests of the whole," and that selfish "groupism" must give way to social integration for the common good. It has been found that after the first meeting some of these groups feel it best to appoint a small agenda committee to prepare two or three definite questions for discussion at the next meeting. Then, too, it may be that after a while a group can accomplish most by working together on some joint project on which all its members can agree—as, for illustration, better housing, establishment of a city industrial relations commission to mediate in times of threatened conflict and prevent strikes and lockouts, perhaps the Voorhis bill for a commission on unemployment and postwar economic adjustment, or some other project.

Certain conferences between economic and religious groups have at times been used in a limited fashion and with at least partial self-interest in view. For example, meetings have been called by some groups with only industrialists and ministers present, or with only business interests and farmers, or with only labor and churchmen. One group or another has taken the initiative with the definite objective of getting their own point of view understood. While every increase in understanding is to be welcomed, those who have a vision of "the Christian community" will, I believe, feel more satisfaction when conferences are made as inclusive as the heart of God, and have as their purpose solely the increase of understanding, good will and cooperation between *all* groups.

Atmosphere of Worship

As a matter of fact, a most impressive atmosphere has prevailed in these informal conferences—a spirit of human unity which has brought to those present a very real sense of the presence of God. In a number of meetings the group has paused, either at the beginning or in the midst of the meeting, for some moments of silence in which it was suggested that each one approach God in his own way in the common silence. Catholic, Protestant and Jew all gladly join in such moments of worship and in the new feeling of human unity as each one seeks to be at his best and to contemplate the better things to be attained for the community and the world as the human family comes to understand and to work together for the good of all its members.

The results of these moments of silence—which, to be most effective, should last for several minutes—has been an impressive sense of spiritual reality, a real feeling of worship and the presence of God. This is not to be wondered at, for the whole conference is an attempt at human reconciliation, which, according to Jesus, is a prerequisite to reality in worship. "Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar and go thy way: first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift."

BOOKS

The Cure of Souls

THE HIGHWAY OF GOD. *By Ralph W. Sockman. The Macmillan Company, $2.00.*

THESE Lyman Beecher lectures come nearer to being the clinical notebook of a physician of souls than a complete philosophy of the ministry. And a very wise physician he proves to be, one who has felt the pulse of a great metropolitan parish for a quarter-century and has learned to prescribe for the spiritual maladies which one would encounter in such a period. He tries neither to frighten the patient out of his ills nor to put him off with bread pills. The case is one for exacting diagnosis without panic or despair and for patient treatment along well tested lines.

To read these lectures is like sitting down in the pastor's study for a series of conversations on the work of the minister and finding that one is doing very little talking but is listening intently to a veteran's comments on his association with all kinds of people in all kinds of human situations. You see this minister in his pulpit speaking on a multitude of occasions concerning that which is nearest his heart, the will of God for men.

Dr. Sockman lays down no rules for young ministers to observe by which to catch the ear of the passing throng and thus to insure success. He has no tricks to show, no novelties which will turn away the crowds. The ministry to him is not the minutiae of burdensome duties and correct etiquette, but the role of builders on the highway of God, preparing the way of the Lord coming to the people, and preparing the people to find the way of God. He conceives of himself also as a voice crying in the wilderness of man's perplexity, the voice of a prophet interpreting the will of God concerning the complex issues of our times, and as "much more than a prophet," a pastor who mingles with his people on intimate terms and expects to speak to them week by week over a period of years. He does not have all the answers. He believes that "even if we cannot give the complete answers, it is a real service to ask the right questions." He believes that pastors should "refuse to speak on subjects beyond our knowledge."

The lecturer takes his themes from the appraisal which Christ makes of the great preacher of his time, John the Baptist. There are six lectures, but the meat of the book is in the first four. Lecture one describes the contemporary wilderness setting. There is no browbeating or dogmatic insistence on his own opinion, but a refreshing reserve; yet

he believes the preacher must face his times fearlessly. Lecture two warns the preacher against being a mere opportunist and forgetting the timeless character of his message. It is entitled, "A Reed in the Wind." Lecture three designates the pastor as a prophet. In lecture four he is described as "much more than a prophet," as a man who has gained the confidence of his people and who speaks to them with "creative compassion."

The predominant impression of these lectures is one of balanced judgment and unhurried ministry of healing which sacrifices not one whit of loyalty to Christ and the gospel. They make one wish to sing, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace . . . that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth."

CHARLES GERLINGER.

Books in Brief

SUN CHIEF, THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A HOPI INDIAN. *Edited by Leo W. Simmons. Yale University Press, $4.25.*

Only a well trained ethnologist enjoying the confidence and the hearty cooperation of the Indian subject could have produced such a completely revealing record of the life and mind of a Hopi, set against a background of the social structure, ceremonials, religious ideas and mores of his people. Much research has been done in this field, and there is no lack of both scientific and popular literature about this extraordinary group of sedentary Indians in northern Arizona, whose annual "snake dance," the most spectacular ceremonial in the whole of our spectacular southwest, has been seen by hundreds of whites, including this reviewer. But so far as the reviewer knows, there has never been a comparable picture of the whole Hopi culture, similarly personalized and documented by the testimony of a member of the community. Resistant as these Indians are to outside influences—insomuch that the Catholic missionaries gave them up two centuries ago, and there is not a church in any of their pueblos—the impact of white civilization has wrought its effect. Don has been to school. He knows, by experience, the beet fields of Colorado, the Indian school at Riverside, California, and the brothels of Winslow. He is not reticent about his sex adventures, which have been varied and extensive. He went through a brief conversion to Christianity in his youth, under pressure, but soon relapsed. Now he has many friends ("schoolteachers, museum workers, artists, anthropologists and botanists"), and owns and uses a good deal of white man's equipment, but his basic ideas about the traditional customs, ceremonials and beliefs seem to be those of his fathers. Incidentally, this book considered as a case study might be of value to missionaries who deal with Indians or other peoples whose culture is widely different from our own.

THE MESSAGE OF THE LORD'S PRAYER. *By Igor I. Sikorsky. Charles Scribner's Sons, $1.25.*

Two facts about this book, taken together, make it almost unique: first, it was written not by a professional theologian but by the famous Russian-American designer of airplanes; second, it is completely free from those amateurish qualities which are commonly found in the religious writings of laymen whose main work does not lie in fields related to religion. This is a beautifully written expression of deep religious feelings and of cogent thoughts that have evidently been matured through years of profound meditation. Here is a scientist who does not bother about "reconciling religion with science." He is aware of no conflict. The spiritual universe is as real to him as the physical. "Often when walking alone through forests or climbing mountains," says the author, "I thought about the great prayer until I began to realize that, besides the direct meaning of the few outwardly simple sentences, the prayer included indirectly a very extensive and profound message." The scientist and the mystic in him have collaborated harmoniously in unfolding that message.

Books Received

Faith the Root. By Barbara Frances Fleury. Dutton, $2.50. An idyllic novel of a lovable priest in a little town on the Michigan shore. Father Jerry is the friend of everybody, Catholic or Protestant. His simplicity and devotion make his story a parable for preachers. Miss Fleury's clear writing carries conviction.

Lessons of the Prince of Peace. By Charles E. Raven. Longmans, $1.00. In the "terror and splendor of these apocalyptic days," Dr. Raven writes of the call and the constraint of Christ, of his demands upon men, his uniting influence among men and the fulfillment of human hopes and divine purposes in him, with the conviction that if Christianity does not have a persuasive and healing message amid the stresses of war it will be useless to expect much from it when peace has been restored. Here he renounces nothing that he has written heretofore, but his word is not that of the pacifist to whom withdrawal from war is the result and the test of spiritual attainment.

American Destiny, A Faith for America. By A. Powell Davies. Beacon Press, $1.50. The destiny of America, in brief, is to assume the leadership in making the world such that America can live in it. "Like-minded nations, requiring for their way of life the same kind of world, will collaborate and follow. They will not be able to lead." The aggressor nations have proved that they have nothing to contribute to the building of such a world. Our leadership may demand a "pax Americana," but it does not imply a new imperialism or the exploitation of the world for our benefit or even the restoration of the status quo ante. We must build upon our national heritage, but two elements of that heritage are readiness to change our social and political patterns for the better and respect for the rights of all peoples. The American faith is a conviction of man's power to make a better world.

Sacred Scriptures and Religious Philosophy, A Comparative Study. By Bardella Shipp Curtis. Caxton Printers, $3.00. (To be reviewed.)

In Alaskan Waters. By Alfred Wolfe. Caxton Printers, $3.00. In twenty years of deep-sea fishing along the Pacific coast from Seattle to Alaska, Mr. Wolfe (short for the original Danish Wolfhechel) learned all there is to know about the labors and rewards of that occupation. His narrative is factual and specific, covering the technique of the craft, its economic aspects and the experiences encountered in that adventurous life. The author does not go out of his way to attain literary effect, but his story has the appeal of perfect sincerity and authenticity.

Big Wheels Rolling. By Eugenia Stone. Caxton Printers, $2.50. Going to California in the gold rush days was an adventure for anybody, but it was a special kind of adventure for children. Here, told for children and with clever illustrations, is a story of the overland journey as experienced by a family of children and their parents.

The Christian Approach to the Moslem, A Historical Study. By James Thayer Addison. Columbia University Press, $3.75. (To be reviewed.)

The Black Baroness. By Dennis Wheatley. Macmillan, $2.50. No reader will harbor the illusion, even while under the pleasant spell of the story, that this novel is an addition to the permanent literary treasures of the English-speaking peoples. But it is a rattling good tale, full of intrigue and nerve-racking adventure as the ingenious Gregory Sallust pursues his devious way as an undercover British agent in Europe in the hundred days from the nazi invasion of Norway until the capitulation of France. As a war story

dealing with matters of diplomatic finesse and secret maneuvers rather than with hostilities in the open field, this is one of the liveliest and best.

Daily Prayer. Edited by Eric Milner-White and G. W. Briggs. Oxford University Press, $2.00. The prayers, both ancient and modern, collected in this volume are selected and arranged for either public or private use. The editors have drawn upon a wide variety of sources, including some not commonly used in devotional anthologies, and they have added prayers of their own composition. An excellent and thoroughly usable collection.

CORRESPONDENCE

The 'Turbulence' of Sorrow

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In your editorial comment in your issue of May 13 in reference to the "obituary notice" read in Columbia, S. C., perhaps a wrong impression was made in regard to the use of the phrase, "turbulence in the air," an impression which would reflect unfavorably on the people who heard. The newspaper man who wrote this up in the *Columbia State* used the phrase "turbulence in the air" to describe the coming and going of cars and people in a military camp city as a crack train was about to come in. He interviewed me while waiting for the train. It was mere local color, and had nothing to do with the reaction of my audience.

The situation was this: That day was primary election day and the Negroes were deprived of the vote by the simple expedient of making them prove they voted the Democratic ticket in 1876. The whites were not asked to prove it. The Negroes protested in vain. Before beginning my address, I said that I had "an obituary notice to read which would come as a shock to friends of the deceased. Democracy died in the city of Columbia today when American citizens were denied the right of suffrage because of the color of their skins. For those who have eyes to see the ballot box will be decked henceforth in black as a sign of mourning."

I made no comment whatever, and went on with my address. The reaction, of course, was tremendous, but it was not "turbulence." A sense of sorrow swept the audience. I felt the tears of things as I went on with my address on an entirely different subject. It is due to that audience to say that if there was any "turbulence" it was not of anger, but of sorrow that such a thing could happen. There may have been anger, but if so, no signs of it reached me.

I was deeply grateful for the reaction of that audience and for the favorable write-up by the newspapers, putting it on the front page.

150 Fifth Avenue, E. STANLEY JONES.
New York, N. Y.

Humbled and Praying

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am glad that someone gave some light on the problem of our Japanese refugees. My wife and I had the experience of driving a Japanese family over to the local assembly center, and it wasn't a picnic, because the head of that family was my colleague in the ministry in charge of the Japanese Methodist mission in our neighborhood. Theoretically our common supreme loyalty and service was to our common Lord, but it wasn't easy to see him and his wife and two small children go behind the barbed wire into protective custody. But they plan to make it an opportunity for the gospel among their people, which is not bound. No doubt they will have some New Testament experiences under New Testament conditions. I am humbled and I am praying.

First Immanuel Lutheran Church, CARL W. SODERGREN.
Portland, Ore.

Let the Bombs Fall!

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: From time to time writers of letters in your paper have expressed horror at the thought of bombing Japan because of the vulnerability of the houses. One recent writer was much concerned that the life of "this great servant of God . . . perhaps the greatest Christian in the world today," meaning Kagawa, was in danger. The writer seemed perfectly indifferent to what has been going on in China for the past four years where other "great servants of God," missionaries, have been killed or left to starve, and "countless other innocent lives" have been lost. Sherwood Eddy in a recent address said that bombing Japan proper would probably end the war with less loss of life than in any other way.

Then since bombs are the only language which the warlords of Japan will understand or heed, let the bombs fall upon Tokyo and other cities, not in the spirit of revenge or retaliation but as the only means available to stop this savage slaughter and leave a world where this friend of Kagawa and the rest of us are free to express our opinions and live in peace, as we certainly could not do in an Axis-dominated world.

Berea, Ky. ADA S. SHERWOOD.

Corrections

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In the issue of May 6 two slight errors appeared which I should like to correct. First, in my article on British sacrifices in the war, I said that there had been fewer strikes in England during the past year than at any time during the previous century. This should read: "during the previous half-century." Reliable statistics on strikes go back only fifty-odd years.

Second, in your editorial on page 581 you called the last high commissioner for Palestine Sir Thomas Wauchope. His Christian name was Arthur.

Washington, D. C. ALBERT VITON.

Discrimination Against Protestants

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The tire rationing board in Long Beach today informed me that Protestant ministers (except in very remote rural sections) are not eligible for tires under the new governmental decree. However, the board member with whom I talked made it clear to me that Roman Catholic priests, and Roman Catholic priests only, come under the exemption. When asked to give a reason for this situation, he replied that it is because the Catholic priest is considered necessary to administer the sacrament of extreme unction when death approaches a parishioner. Therefore, the priest must have tires in order to arrive at the death scene in time to assure the parishioner's passage into heaven. But, as the board member stated, Protestant ministers have no such important duties!

Community Methodist Church, PAUL L. HIGGINS.
Dominguez, Calif.

The Church Should Be At War!

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am puzzled and completely baffled by the statement of The Christian Century (May 6) that "the Christian church is not at war; if it is true to its own nature it cannot be." In my understanding of the duty of the Christian church when the liberties and moralities of Christian people and non-Christian people are attacked and are in positive danger of being destroyed, it is at war and must keep at war with the enemies until they are defeated. Or else what is the Christian church for in a time of such attacks?

If it is here to permit the liberties and moralities of Christian

and other people to be wiped out, then it too will be wiped out and so Christ will have taught, lived and died in vain. Christianity will have disappeared as a religion and as a force in the world. Paganism will have taken its place and a new religion will have to arise to rescue mankind from a new era of tyranny and slavery.

It is a strange doctrine, too, which The Christian Century stands for when it says editorially: "The war will not be stopped by our [Christian] 'struggle' against it. We struggle in vain against God's judgment." Here, it seems to me, is Calvinistic predestination with a vengeance! I thought such predestination was dead long, long ago. It certainly ought to be. This war is not "God's judgment" but man's struggle with man, the Germans, Italians and Japanese struggling for what they want and the rest of us struggling for what we want. God is in the struggle and on the side of those who struggle for liberty, religious belief and a cooperative order under God. There is no predestination about it or fate. Free forces have led up to it and will settle it, God helping them, for God is a free agent among free agents (men) whom he has made free within the limits of his own freedom.

The duty of the Christian and the Christian church, as I see it, is to get into this war to the limit and help to win it before it is too late.

Church of the Divine Paternity, New York, N. Y. HENRY R. ROSE.

Protecting Japanese-Americans

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have exhausted my patience waiting for some justice to be done to the United States army in connection with the Japanese evacuation. I have found only passing and inadequate references to their problem. You speak of the "high-handed actions taken by the army against citizens of Japanese descent." Your correspondent writes: "Possibly 70 to 100 Japanese in California have been murdered by Filipinos or seriously hurt since Dec. 7. No one has yet been killed by a Caucasian, in spite of all the talk of the necessity of protecting persons of Japanese descent from Caucasian mobs."

The army stationed on the coast has at least two jobs. The first is to protect the coast from Japanese raids. The other is to protect this region from domestic disorder such as the murder of Japanese citizens and aliens. Should the army say, "This murder doesn't count. He was shot by a Filipino," or should the army try to see that the Japanese are not murdered by anyone? Should they be deployed all over the coast wherever a Japanese is to be found? As for Caucasian mobs, I did not know that anyone expected them until the coast was bombed. The sober opinion of the best military authorities is that the coast will be bombed this summer and all civilian defense is based on that assumption in our part of the state. The Japanese are being evacuated just before the fog settles down for many miles at sea. For a period of three months no navy in the world could prevent airplane carriers from stealing up close to our coast. The army is responsible to see that Japanese planes are shot out of the air. The army is responsible to see that people of Japanese descent are not shot on the ground.

They may have been too drastic. They may be wrong. I do not know how any preacher or civilian can tell. They may be motivated too largely by fear of disloyalty of the Japanese. If this is true, I sympathize with all that has been said in The Christian Century affirming the basic loyalty of most of the Japanese people. But if the army is largely motivated also by the fear that violence will be done to the Japanese, they could not state this without increasing the danger of violence. I think they have suggested this many times, including the order of this morning releasing Japanese farmers from evacuation centers to harvest crops. The order states that they can be released only if local authorities "recognize their responsibility to maintain order and prevent any violence or intimidation." The order states that "they must understand that no federal troops will be available for protection or supervision." I can hardly excuse Christian ministers for failing in Christian fairness to the army in not having repeatedly made clear that the army is, as it believes, acting for the safety of the Japanese people as well as the protection of the United States. Again, it may be wrong, but its possible errors are easier for me to understand than the failures of preachers in dealing with it.

Many of the Japanese are bitter, but not all of them. The leader of the Japanese in Berkeley, a brilliant young man married in my church by a Japanese pastor and myself, tells me that he realizes it is for the good of the Japanese citizens and aliens to be put into government camps. He does not think that it is wise, considering their safety, for them to be scattered about the country. They do wish that it could be stated by a high army official or the President that they are being sent for their safety and not because they are suspected. This is a grave omission. It is also, however, a great omission on the part of sentimental religionists who are increasing the bitterness of the Japanese by telling them how unjustly they are being treated instead of patting them on the back like a father saying good-by to his boy bound for the front.

I love the Japanese people as I have never loved any minority race in this country. Our church building was turned over to the government that their evacuation might be carried out with utmost consideration for them. With the assistance of the Berkeley fellowship of churches, we started a system of hospitality by which everyone was served with tea and refreshments shortly before they got on the evacuation buses. Some ministers do not care to have their buildings used for anything in which the army is involved but the system of serving the Japanese as an expression of friendship and faith has spread rapidly along the coast. I did not see an unkind look or gesture on the part of any government or army person. The soldiers were soon warm friends of the Japanese young men and were invited by the latter to eat with them. The Japanese girls gathered around the handsome soldier in typical American fashion. The Japanese smiled even when you could see tears in the corners of their eyes. I almost had to run for cover several times as I saw such people as the following get on the bus —Japanese pastors, students from my class at the Pacific School of Religion, university professors, a distinguished business man wearing his American Legion button, a beautiful young mother carrying her twelve-day-old baby, the man who planned the gardens at Treasure Island, an artist who gave his paintings to establish a scholarship at the university for some student affected by the war, and many dear friends.

The whole thing is horrible. And yet it must be put in the bracket with boys dying and, still worse, killing in the Orient, mothers and fathers who in their weak moments wish they could bring their children back from the front and retreat with them to the safety of a government-guarded camp, and the whole horrible agony of our world. The convictions of some dictate that they shall escape from the horror of actual warfare into the fair harbor of good works. This is wonderful—a right which must be protected by the agony of armed men—and many of us wish that God had led us to the insights which would make us good Samaritans who could arrive after the thief had departed. But such luxury can never be for the army. They must do their painful duty as they see it. They may be wrong but we will be wrong also if we do not at least sympathetically see their point of view even though to us it is dangerous and unwarranted. We may even think that they are instruments of the devil but we can still be fair to them, and we have not been.

If you want to accept the invitation of The Christian Century's correspondent to ask the government to release loyal nisei from the camps, by all means follow your convictions. Perhaps it is the right thing to do. I do not know. It will be right if there is no violence. But if the coast is bombed and the Caucasian rabble join the Filipino in attacking the Japanese, they will not stop to see whether a person of Japanese descent is or is not a citizen. Perhaps no Japanese has yet been killed by a Caucasian but I know at least one case where a veterans' group threatened to burn down a home where Japanese students, endeavoring to transfer to another university, were seeking refuge. Therefore, if your petition is granted and the Japanese citizen of this country, who was released from a camp where he was safe, is killed, know that you and not the United States army are responsible for his death.

First Congregational Church, Berkeley, Calif. VERE V. LOPER.

Argentina Holds Her Neutrality

Keeps Out of War but Sympathizes with Allies—Protestant School Opened —Davis Studies Economics

(Correspondence from Argentina)

BUENOS AIRES, May 8.—During recent years solidarity among the 21 American republics has been better understood and more fully approved than at any previous time in the history of these countries. The conference of foreign ministers held at Rio in January showed progress in this growing American solidarity. Argentina's position of neutrality is not untrue to her tradition and her historical background. Her ties with Europe up to the time of the present war had remained stronger than is true of any other Latin American country. On equality with them she received her language and basic traditions from Spain, her ideals and modes of thought from France and her religious ideology from Italy.

* * *

Nation Sympathizes With Allies

Her position, however, is different from that of Brazil, whose great coffee industry brought her into commercial contact with the United States generations ago, and from that of Chile, which, for lack of easy access to Europe, found her place more largely in the American scheme of things. These ties — racial, cultural and commercial — are not broken quickly. Yet it is conservatively estimated here that 80 per cent of the Argentine people sympathize with the democracies in the present struggle. Some put the estimate as high as 90 per cent. This does not mean that the Argentine public would favor entering the war or even overruling the government's position of neutrality. They remain, geographically, largely out of the war zone. They have had no Pearl Harbor. Yet some American commentators tend to sharpen Argentina's point of view into one of antagonism. *Time* has pointed to her loss in export trade as the "price of pride." This is utterly unfair and is a position which would deny the right of self-determination of peoples. Argentina's losses would certainly not be less should she enter the war.

* * *

Seminary Breaks Ground For New Building

The Union Evangelical Seminary in Buenos Aires broke ground at the end of April for its new building. This will provide adequate equipment for an institution which is vital to the life of the Evangelical churches of the River Plate republics. The new plant provides dormitories, administration offices, classrooms, library and a small chapel. With this new building project has come the fusion of the Girls' Training School with Union Seminary. This union was officially constituted at the meeting of the newly appointed board of managers on April 27. This body is composed of 13 members representing the Methodist Church, the federation of Waldensian churches and the Disciples of Christ, and five additional members appointed by this body. The seminary thus becomes co-educational with a curriculum which is not equaled in scholastic standing by any other Protestant seminary in Spanish-speaking South America. At present it has students from Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Bolivia and Peru. Becoming a union institution in 1917, it now counts among its alumni pastors of the Methodist, Waldensian, Disciples, Presbyterian and Congregational churches. The two present Methodist bishops in Spanish-speaking South America are alumni of this institution. Five graduates have studied in the United States. B. Foster Stockwell, the present director, has headed the seminary since 1926.

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Church Confederation Holds Assembly

The fourth annual assembly of the Confederation of Evangelical Churches of the River Plate republics was held April 28, 29. Ten Protestant churches working in these republics are affiliated in this union project. Its work has marked a forward step in cooperative effort. Its ablest contribution has been in the fields of church union, Christian literature and religious education. Through its efforts more than $3,200 has been contributed in recent months to the committee in Geneva to help war refugees. The work of the confederation is greatly handicapped by the lack of a secretary who could give part or full time to its work which so far has been carried on by members of the executive committee.

* * *

Study Social and Economic Factors

J. Merle Davis, secretary of the department of economic and social research of the International Missionary Council, is now finishing six weeks of research in the River Plate area. Mr. Davis is appraising the economic and social factors of the environment in which new churches live and are nourished. He calls attention to indigenous resources which can be more fully utilized in the future development of these churches. He uses questionnaires extensively together with personal and group interviews. The effect on those he meets is intellectually stimulating and spiritually invigorating. His earlier studies were in Africa and the Orient. Since the Madras Conference he has been giving much time to Latin America, making a survey in Mexico in 1940 and in Cuba, Puerto Rico and Jamaica in 1941. From the River Plate he will go to Brazil for ten weeks and then make short surveys in Trinidad and Barbados.

J. DEXTER MONTGOMERY.

Sectional Deference Bans Vote on Discrimination

New England Methodists recently refused to approve a resolution denouncing racial discrimination in the south on the ground that it would stir up sectional prejudice and embarrass southern Methodists.

Jones Says India To Get Freedom

Religious Leader Asks America to Clarify War Aims—Our Debt to China Noted—Libby Would Curb Hate

(Correspondence from Colorado)

DENVER, May 18.—It is always a religious event when E. Stanley Jones comes to Denver. On April 17 he visited Denver between engagements in Nebraska and Texas and spoke three times. On the India crisis, he said: "Britain usually does the right thing, but often it is done too late. The question now is whether or not Britain has again waited too long. For the past ten years we have been saying that 'a wise radicalism is a true conservatism,' and that 'he who gives quickly gives ten times.' But the tory mind doesn't think until it feels pain. In this case I am afraid it thought too late. India will have its independence. Britain will be compelled to grant her demand. When India said she wanted complete independence she didn't mean independence from the British commonwealth of families, but complete independence of choice. India does not love the British, but she loves Germany, Italy and Japan even less."

* * *

Declares Imperialism Has Seen Its Day

Dr. Jones said further: "The day of imperialism is over, and if we are fighting to restore imperialism this war will end in futility. If the East thinks America is in this war to bolster decaying imperialism, then America's moral authority in the East is gone. However, if the East feels that America is out on an offensive of democracy, which would mean equal opportunity to everybody, then she can hold her moral authority. The only way we can undercut Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo, and all men of this type to be produced by the future, is to offer to all people full equality of opportunity."

* * *

Christian Advance A Necessity

As a part of the national program of cooperative Protestantism, Lin D. Cartwright, Mary Leigh Palmer, L. Avery Fleming and Mrs. E. E. McClintock recently visited our community. Of this movement Dr. Fleming said: "Today it is vitally important to avoid hysteria and to set a good example of carrying on in a Christian way and according to the highest standards of Christian citizenship. However insignificant our part may appear when we compare it with the events that are shaking the foundations of the world, let us not make the mistake of underestimating the value of our contributions."

* * *

Cites America's Debt To China

Among the churchmen who spoke before

the Colorado convention of Episcopalians, Irving P. Johnson, former bishop of Colorado, and Fred Ingley, the present bishop, were heard. Arthur M. Sherman, former president of Boone University in China, spoke words of flame. He said: "Nothing is more important to the success of this country in this most appalling of wars than to keep alive the sense of our tremendous indebtedness to China. The Chinese held the Japs with inadequate equipment while we, their supposed friends, have permitted groups to make millions of dollars on the sale of scrap iron, oil and other materials to Japan. They are now being shot back at us and will cost us billions of dollars and oceans of blood before the debt is squared. Our whole program toward the Chinese has been utterly puerile. That's the word—puerile. From the state department in Washington I verified the figures to the effect that the United States supplied from 54 to 90 per cent of Japan's supplies. All right! That's water over the dam. Now let's realize what we owe to China and never stop until we win victory for and with her."

* * *

Libby Says Hatred Must be Curbed

Frederick J. Libby, executive secretary of the National Council for the Prevention of War, in a recent visit spoke on "Tasks in Wartime for People of Good Will." He stressed three basic responsibilities: curbing the growth of hatred and intolerance, work on postwar problems and getting a decent and durable peace. Mr. Libby is a peace evangelist. He believes that peace is the only thing that will work. He dwelt at length upon the significant part of India's non-violent resistance in the present situation.

* * *

Ambassador Says China Will Stand

China's ambassador and great scholar, Hu Shih, recently spoke here. He contrasted the traditional democracy of China and the historic totalitarianism of Japan. "China has never been an aggressor nation," he said. "But war was forced upon us by a highly militarized nation, and we shall fight until we win to preserve our way of life. Your people and my people are fighting for the same thing—peace and civilization." He declared that the loss of the Burma road is not decisive.

* * *

And So Forth

Robert Cummins, general superintendent of the Universalist Churches, recently visited the First Universalist Church, Conrad B. Rheiner, pastor.

Harry T. Morris, minister of the Park Hill Methodist Church, has been chosen the new president of Iliff School of Theology. He succeeds Charles Schofield, who goes to Kansas to take the presidency of Baldwin College.

The Colorado council of churches and the Denver council of churches, together with other religious and educational organizations, are joining in an effort to preserve the spirit of good will toward the increasing number of Japanese coming into the state from the west coast. The vandals who broke the windows in the Japanese Methodist Church were rebuked by the Denver ministers' alliance, who are replacing the windows.

CLARENCE W. KEMPER.

Foresees Coming Spiritual Rebirth

Duke Lecturer Declares Old Values Not Enduring—Dr. Tillich Urges Curb on Growing Collectivism

(Correspondence from Indiana)

INDIANAPOLIS, May 11.—More than 200 ministers, choir leaders and directors from all sections of Indiana, as well as from surrounding states, attended this year's annual conference on preaching and worship at DePauw University. The chief lecturer was Frank S. Hickman, dean of chapel at Duke University. Dr. Hickman, a DePauw alumnus, based his lectures on Pitirim A. Sorokin's book, *The Crisis of Our Age*. Discussing the age-old struggle between the material and spiritual points of view, Dr. Hickman held that society is undergoing a philosophical change in which materialism cannot survive. A spiritual rebirth is impending. Men are seeking today to know whether or not the present world conflict is a struggle against evil and whether it will advance or deter the coming on earth of the Kingdom of God. The people of the allied nations, he said, are "doubtful as to the verity of their own struggle. What is handicapping us more than the armed forces of the Axis nations is our own hesitancy, our own mixed motives, our own greed and political duplicity." Other speakers included William L. Stidger of Boston; Leo Sowerby, director of music at the St. James Church of Chicago; Oscar T. Olson of the Euclid Avenue Methodist Church of Cleveland; and Albert W. Beaven, president of Colgate-Rochester Divinity School.

* * *

Study Crisis in Missions

More than 200 delegates from six midwestern states attended the three-day interdenominational missionary education institute at Roberts Park Methodist Church in Indianapolis the first week in May. Headliner at this 13th annual session of the midwest institute was Stanley W. Rycroft, secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America. Other faculty members included Miss E. Mae Young of Nashville, Tenn., Raymond H. Veh of Harrisburg, Pa., and Gustave Woerner of Malaya. A feature of the institute was a luncheon sponsored by the Indianapolis council of churchwomen. Chaplain R. C. Deibert of Ft. Benjamin Harrison was the speaker at this affair.

* * *

Tucker Says Victory Is Not Enough

More than 200 outstanding clergy and lay members of the Protestant Episcopal Church from all over the nation assembled in Indianapolis May 4-8 for the 50th triennial Episcopal Church Congress. Bishop Henry St. George Tucker presided at the conference in which the principal topic of discussion was the relation of the church to the war. Characterizing the war as due to group selfishness, Bishop Tucker asserted that it is both a civic and a Christian duty to put all our capacity and all our resources into this struggle. Continuing, he warned that "we will not have fulfilled our responsibility for cooperating with God in carrying out his purpose when physical victory is achieved. The church's task after the war is to use every endeavor to prepare men to utilize their opportunity to enlist men in God's service."

* * *

Tillich Urges Checks On Collectivism

According to another speaker, Prof. Paul Tillich of Union Seminary, the real purpose of the present conflict is reconstruction, which, he said, is needed "for the consequent economic security of all. We must," he added, "have a democratically checked central power, collectivism, a new and complete freedom for the individual and for the whole of society. It is for these aims that we must fight." Others participating in the congress included Frederick C. Grant of Union, Angus Dun of the Episcopal Theological School and H. Ralph Higgins of St. Mark's Church, Grand Rapids, Mich.

* * *

Archbishop Loses Faith In Leaders

A recent Catholic "Confraternity of Christian Doctrine" brought to Indianapolis over 1,000 delegates. The stated purpose of the confraternity was to "strengthen the Catholic schools and provide for the Christian way of living, by various methods of teaching, for persons and localities outside the schools." One of the speakers, Archbishop John T. McNicholas of Cincinnati, said that leaders of the nations cannot sit around a table and "reason themselves out of war and impose a just peace on the world. Many of these leaders cannot reason rightly on the supreme basic question of the existence of God. Such leaders have deified the state." Failing to reason rightly on these fundamentals, they cannot be expected, the archbishop argued, "to reason correctly on the rights of nations small or large, on international law, on justice and the terms of a just peace for all peoples and countries."

* * *

Says Racism Is Sin

John J. Doyle of Marian College urged the Catholic teacher to "teach what he knows, that anti-Semitism . . . is irreconcilable with his Christian teachings; that the discrimination against the Negro which is practiced and justified by many is a denial of his religion; that political graft and chicanery is not something to be boasted of, but a sin."

* * *

And So Forth

Harlan Frost, director of national program for the Christian Commission for Camp and Defense Communities, led in an interdenominational planning conference in Indianapolis early in May.

The Indianapolis church federation will have Roswell P. Barnes of the Federal Council as speaker at its 30th annual meeting.

Speakers in the Indianapolis one-day convention of the Christian Education Advance included Percy R. Hayward, editor of the *International Journal of Religious Education*, Luther Wesley Smith of the Baptist Publication Society and Raymond F. McLain, president of Transylvania College.

GEORGE WALKER BUCKNER, JR.

Intern Japanese Near Portland

Citizens and Aliens Confined—Camp a School for Democracy?—Church Will Give Aid to Farmers

(Correspondence from Oregon)

PORTLAND, May 15.—Japanese of this area are rapidly being assembled in the 11-acre barbed-wire and troop-guarded "center," a former stock show pavilion and grounds just outside Portland. The assembly center will accommodate 4,000, with facilities comparable to ordinary military cantonments. Dormitories for single people and apartments for families, sanitation, a modern mess hall, hospital, nurseries, ball park and recreational rooms provide a standard of living higher than that enjoyed by the majority of internees, many of whom have lived in rural hovels and city slums. The community will be self-governing. Protestant, Catholic and Buddhist ministries will be maintained. Idleness will present many problems for people whose life pattern has been hard labor from dawn to dark. Most Japanese have been agricultural workers. While the announced policy is to resettle the people in the interior, preparations have been made to care for them here through the summer or as long as may be necessary.

* * *

Churches Provide Transportation

Portland churches are rendering a sympathetic ministry, counseling as well as providing material aid. Since no governmental provision is made for transporting people to the camp, "Christian cars" have been at the disposal of the Japanese. Saddened as one is by the sight of human beings, over half of them American citizens, behind barbed wire, there is a touch of pride in the demonstration that a concentration camp in America can be a school for democracy.

* * *

Japanese Rector Freed: Interned

Short-lived freedom was the lot of Kenneth W. Nakajo, Episcopal clergyman who was released from government custody after 135 days' detention, 20 in the local jail and 115 at Fort Missoula, Mont. He returned to his Portland home to find his parishioners moving to the Japanese assembly center. During his incarceration the rector baptized several converts. He will continue his ministry in the evacuation center. He is enthusiastic in his praise of the treatment he received from the military.

* * *

Scientist Faces Future With Confidence

Speaking on "Science and Armageddon" before the Portland city club, Robert A. Millikan, eminent physicist, called this "a terrifying but inspiring time to be alive." He is confident that "war is on the way out" and declares the supreme task of religion to be "to spread the idea of world loyalty." He regards the principles of isolationism and Christianity as diametrically opposed to each other and branded as "the

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Biographical Sermons

CLOVIS G. CHAPPELL

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T. OTTO NALL, Editor

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Ernest F.

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greatest failure of history" America's reluctance during the past 20 years to give world leadership. His analysis of the Gallup polls convinces him that the average citizen has both "brains and conscience" and is thinking more realistically than the average politician.

* * *

Methodist Bishop Memorialized

The Methodist Church at McMinnville, L. O. Griffith, pastor, has recently dedicated the Bishop Brown "memorial sanctuary" honoring Wallace E. Brown, late bishop of the Portland area. The beloved bishop's last public address was delivered to the McMinnville church. The project was completed just before construction ceased for the duration.

* * *

Oregon Baptists to Help Farmers

Baptist youth will be recruited for the harvest. Five work camps, under direction of the department of Christian education of the state convention, will combine religion with farm service. Instead of paying to attend camp, young people will be paid. Transported to and from the fields by the growers, who face a serious labor shortage, campers will work eight hours at current wages and then return to camp for recreation, study and worship. Workers will harvest berries, beans and hops. Baptist headquarters are careful to state that only 2½ per cent of America's hop crop is used in making beer! Provision is being made for families who wish to help save Oregon's crops, at the same time enjoying Christian fellowship and a vacation which will bring in some financial return.

* * *

Portland to Have War Chest

Portland war drives will be coordinated into an expanded community chest under a committee, appointed by the mayor, to coordinate askings and determine needs. The facilities of the Portland community chest will be used to raise the money for approved causes. The community chest itself will merge into the larger setup. The USO, Navy Relief and United China Relief will be among the agencies included in the new cooperation.

* * *

And So Forth

John L. Casteel, for 11 years director of the speech division, University of Oregon, Eugene, succeeds John W. Wetzel as head of the speech department in Union Theological Seminary, New York city.

Morgan S. Odell, professor of religion at Occidental College, Los Angeles, since 1931, has accepted the presidency of Albany College, Presbyterian, Portland, succeeding Clarence W. Greene, who retired last December. Albany is a college without a campus in downtown Portland. A movement is under way to relocate the school in a surburban district of the city of Portland.

John Richardson, since 1934 dean of Gethsemane Episcopal Cathedral, Fargo, N. D., comes to Grace Memorial Church, Portland, succeeding in this important parish Oswald W. Taylor. Dr. Taylor's recent death cost Oregon a much loved church leader.

RAYMOND B. WALKER.

Bomb Old Cities In Great Britain

Nazis Select Baedeker-Starred Towns—Conservatives Lose in By-Elections —Churches Sustain Missions

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, May 4.—Three historic cities suffered severely last week because of their historic treasures. For being old and beautiful they were selected by the German air force as suitable places for retaliatory raids because they were starred in Baedeker. It was announced that the luftwaffe would go for every such building, and therefore Exeter, Bath, Norwich and York have been made targets from the air. No details are known yet, but it is clear that these cities have paid a price both in their monuments and in the lives of their citizens. At the same time the raiders did not escape scot-free. Their losses exceeded the number which can be allowed on a strictly military reckoning. The last report tells of 7 brought down out of 30.

* * *

By-Elections Weaken Conservative Party

There have been four by-elections in which the government candidates have been opposed by independents. In two cases the vacancy was caused by the raising of former cabinet ministers to the peerage. In the Cathcart division of Glasgow the Conservative candidate was returned; but at Grantham, Wallasey and Rugby the constituencies returned independents, and so three seats hitherto regarded as safe Conservative seats have been lost to the government. The significance of this fact is not clear. Each of the independents is a supporter of the prime minister and stands for a more vigorous policy in the prosecution of the war. These elections may be taken as a sign of widespread impatience with the party machines and nominations. It is probable too that the popular feeling that a "second front" should be chosen has helped the independents to win. These elections can afford no encouragement to the nazis. They certainly give no evidence of weakening in resistance to them.

* * *

Opposes 'Faddists' in New Order

With the Archbishop of Canterbury for their leader and chief advocate, it may be taken for granted that the Christian churches of this country will not contract out of their part in the "new order." But it must not be taken for granted that there will be no opposition to the council of the churches and other societies thinking of things to come. The Bishop of Gloucester expresses the hope that we shall be allowed an interim period "because it is the idealists, the faddists, the progressists, or whatever one may call them, who are reconstructing the world at the present time and all intelligent people are engaged in doing their best to win the war. We want the intelligent people to advise us as to what has to be done in the future." The bishop, it must be added, often stands and is not afraid to stand alone among his brethren. But it is not hard to see that in his impatience of "faddists" he will have some support from within the church. Nonetheless, much is being done to clear the minds of churchmen. Here are the conditions which the Christian church must observe, according to one wise counselor: No return to 1939. That age is past. Any new order must be accepted, not imposed on other countries. It must not be the occasion of blackmail as, for example, if it were accompanied by offers of support in hours of need, always on condition that the new way is received. Lastly, it must not be forgotten that the exile is not always the most trustworthy witness concerning his own country.

* * *

Geographical Task of Church Only Begun

In his address to the Baptists, Grey Griffiths, until lately home secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, said that the church must complete the geographical task, shoulder the burden made by the success of its missions, view the world socially, industrially, economically, politically, internationally, as well as have regard for the arts and sciences and other human interests. All the time it must preach one Savior, Christ the Lord.

* * *

And So Forth

A sincere welcome has been given to your Henry Smith Leiper. Last night he spoke at the evening service broadcast from St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. In this way he spoke to our people as a whole, and discussed with generous sympathy and outlook the cause in which his nation and ours are united now and must still work together after these days are over.

"Religion and Life Weeks" are planned in 70 cities. This week the chief scene in this enterprise is Manchester. Last week it was Coventry. The Roman Catholic Church does not share in these "Religion and Life" undertakings, but in Manchester that church is holding parallel meetings.

The missionary societies are at one in their reports of the last year. The London Missionary Society, for example, had in the year which ended on March 31 an income from the British Isles of £130,091, an increase of £6,543 over the previous year. When it is remembered that this society has among its fields China, New Guinea, Madagascar and other scenes threatened by war, and that Hongkong was one of its most prosperous stations, it will be understood both how great are its troubles and how firm its spirit.

The executive committee of the council of the Institute of Journalists, in a memorandum submitted to the prime minister, expressed its concern at the recent happenings which involved the government. They take their stand on the principle that the press should be free to inform the public quite unhampered by other considerations than those arising from security considerations.

There is to be a full day's debate upon the proposals to ration domestic fuel. It cannot be said that the disquietude felt has yet been removed, though the feeling appears to grow that some other method must be adopted to secure the 10,000,000 extra tons of coal which are needed. They are to be found, according to the present proposals, by rationing domestic supplies.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Catholics Build Religious Press

Circulation of Papers Increases Since 1932—Chapel Dedicated at Gettysburg —Jewish Anniversary in Chicago

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, May 15.—Figures compiled by Joseph H. Meier of Chicago, for many years secretary of the Catholic Press Association, show that the circulation of Catholic periodicals has increased by nearly 2,000,000 over the past ten years. Their circulation has grown from 7,300,000 to 9,125,635. This circulation is divided among 332 publications, 68 more than in 1932. There are 7 Catholic dailies against 9 in existence a decade ago. Catholic foreign language publications have decreased in number and circulation. New publications in Russian and Chinese have been inaugurated during the decade. Figures given in the directory indicate that the Catholic press regards "the American Catholic market" as 21,000,000. There have been rumors of plans to transform the *New World,* Chicago diocesan weekly, into a daily.

* * *

Lutheran Clergymen Dedicate Chapel

Gettysburg, Pa., was the mecca of Lutheran clergy this past week, some 500 of them gathering for the dedication of the new $150,000 colonial chapel at the Lutheran Theological Seminary there, and for the annual pastors' week in connection with this event. Bishop Edwin Holt Hughes gave the lectures on preaching on the Jeremiah Zimmerman foundation. Norman Vincent Peale gave the lectures on personal counseling. Harris E. Kirk gave the Bible lectures on Jeremiah. Harvey D. Hoover of the seminary faculty discussed the challenge and message of the conference on rural life recently held at the seminary.

* * *

Says Christians Must Go Beyond Bible

The new chapel at this, the oldest Lutheran seminary in America (1826), was dedicated by Frederick H. Knubel, president of the United Lutheran Church. Herbert C. Alleman, emeritus professor of Old Testament theology, the "Mr. Chips" to 31 classes of students who have gone out into the Lutheran ministry, told his last class in his commencement address that just as Jesus "closed the book," so they must go on from the book to the Lord of the book, from the literary instrument to the living experience, from the word to the work. He concluded: "The abiding presence, 'Lo, I am with you always,' is promised not to the cloister but to the field."

* * *

Appointment Emphasizes Role of Social Service

Abdel Ross Wentz, completing his first year as president of the institution, reported that the student body this past year consisted of 75 undergraduate and 79 graduate students. The entering class for next year will number between 30 and 35, in spite of the fact that requirements have been stiffened to raise scholastic standards and to prevent even the suspicion of anyone's securing unwarranted military deferment by entering the seminary. The seminary has made a new departure by electing a woman, Dr. Bertha Paulssen of Wagner College, as instructor in sociological subjects. Dr. Paulssen, who is well known in Chicago social service circles, was, in the pre-nazi era, an official in the German national welfare administration. She wrote her thesis for her doctorate in Germany on Lutheran social serivce.

* * *

Celebrate 1,000th Anniversary Of Jewish Scholar

Out of a room in a synagogue in Cairo, Egypt, where books had been dumped because no one was interested in them, savants have recently salvaged the story of a man who died 1,000 years ago whose writings, character, courage and scholarship have a timeless significance. Representatives of some 60 educational institutions and learned societies gathered here at the University of Chicago recently to pay tribute to that man—Rabbi Saadia Gaon, 882-942, head of the Academy of Sur located at Bagdad, an institution which he made a potent center of learning. Three professors, Richard P. McKeon and Arthur Compton of the University of Chicago and Alexander Marx of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, joined in paying him high tribute. He is credited with being the first to make the synthesis between Hebrew religion and world philosophy.

CHARLES LESLIE VENABLE.

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Dry Sentiment Grows in South

Kentucky Counties Voting Liquor Out—Editors Back Race Discrimination —Stanley Jones Is Honored

(Correspondence from Kentucky)

BEREA, May 16.—Although Kentucky makes more whisky than any other state in the union—some 60,000,000 gallons last year—it is going dry faster than any other state. One county every six weeks, on the average, votes out liquor. The count now stands just one short of half the counties—59 of the 120. They include over half of the total area of the state. The reasons are various. Observers stress two—roadhouses and excessive profits. The former line the highways in rural areas where police protection and legal vigilance are low or altogether lacking. Frequently they operate dance halls and are surrounded by cheap tourist cabins available for prostitution and assignation. These disappear when the county votes itself dry. A so-called "fair trades act," passed by the legislature in 1938 at the request of the liquor makers and dealers, forbids wholesalers to take less than 15 per cent profit and retailers less than 33 per cent. Figures offered by 15 wholesalers in a law suit indicate that dealers made in 1940 an average profit of *$43.10 on each $100 of net worth.*

* * *

Protest Free Buses For Catholics

The Louisville Baptist pastors' conference, joined by the Louisville ministerial association, has recently sent to the governor and other officials a protest against a state law of 1940 which allows free bus transportation for pupils in private schools. The court of appeals has had before it since May 1941 a case testing the law. The ministers argue that the law is "clearly contrary to our Constitution" because it diverts tax-raised funds to private use and makes them support sectarian schools. But the point is especially made that this practice obscures traditional American principles of separation of church and state. Catholic parochial schools are the only present beneficiaries of the law.

* * *

***Prince Fears Europe* Will Go Communist**

Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein, as a visiting lecturer in Berea College under the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in speaking on contemporary Europe remarked that before Hitler there was never the slightest indication that Germany would go communist, but that there is genuine danger now that this will happen. He asserted that it is known that German soldiers taken on the eastern front are forming themselves into soviets and may be expected soon to be fighting against nazi armies. It would not greatly surprise him to see the eastern armies of Germany melt into those of Russia. If this takes place on a large scale, the great communist sentiment in certain eastern European states and in France would find ways of cooperating and a soviet Europe could easily be the result. In such case the situation of England would be very uncertain.

* * *

Hambro Says Norwegians Must Hate

Carl J. Hambro, president of the League of Nations and editor of Norway's oldest daily newspaper until the German invasion, speaking before the 18th annual meeting of the Kentucky educational association at Louisville April 17 on "World Organization After the War," asserted the necessity of a world government. In a press interview he was quoted as saying: "If there are any good Germans we have not met them in the occupied countries." He felt that it was a handicap that Norwegians are not "good haters," due to their having been free from war for 125 years. "But we are haters now," he asserted, "and we will not forget."

* * *

Race Discrimination May Cause War

Recent Kentucky speakers have attacked racial discrimination as violating the political necessities of the hour as well as the moral foundations of society. Speaking at the eighth annual rural leadership institute held cooperatively by the University of Kentucky and the Kentucky rural church council, E. A. Seamonds, missionary from Raichur, Deccan, India, expressed approval of Nehru's skepticism of the Scripps plan for India. While eventually there must be a "United States of India," it would be tragic to accept any plan which threatens to fracture India into small groups. He predicted a World War III unless we are able to break down our present national, racial and cultural barriers and realize a genuine world brotherhood. The same note was the theme of a recent address of Herbert Agar, editor of the *Courier-Journal,* before the Rotary Club of Louisville. "We must realize that there is no future in the world for a white man's hegemony," said Mr. Agar. "Our most numerous allies are of the colored races. We must elevate ourselves to thinking of one human race."

* * *

And So Forth

E. Stanley Jones was honored as the most outstanding alumnus by his alma mater, Asbury College, where he was the commencement speaker.

M. P. Hunt is retiring in July from the Eighteenth Street Baptist Church, Louisville, where he has served the last 16 years of a 61-year ministry. He has been an inveterate foe of race track gambling.

Walter A. Groves has been called from the chair of Bible and religion of Center College to that of doctrinal theology of the Louisville Presbyterian Seminary. He succeeds Hugh Thomson Kerr, Jr., who resigned two years ago to accept a similar position at Princeton Seminary.

Hudson H. Pittman, after three months as interim minister, has been called from the Chicago Sunday Evening Club to the pulpit of Union Church of Berea. Union Church has also called William G. Klein, formerly director of Alpine Institute, as the first director of its rural project, through which it hopes to integrate the many available resources and technical services under the guidance of the church for the redemption of a desperately impoverished area near Berea.

WALTER W. SIKES.

Seek Equality in Teachers' Pay

Start Suits in Eight Southern States—Human Welfare Conference Meets in Nashville—No Segregation

(Correspondence from Tennessee)

NASHVILLE, May 15.—Suits have been instituted in eight southern states demanding equalization of salaries for Negro teachers. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is helping local teachers prosecute these suits. In Nashville the contention was made by the attorneys for the board of education that lower salaries for colored teachers were not due to racial discrimination, but to the lack of money to pay them the same as white teachers. It has been facetiously proposed that they apply the same rule to white brunettes. Two Negroes appeared for the teachers and were complimented by the judge for the way in which they conducted their case.

* * *

Dean Ransom is Attacked

Dean Leon Ransom, of the Howard University Law School, assisted a very able local attorney. As he walked out of the courtroom to get a drink of water, an ex-deputy sheriff struck him in the face. The sheriff was at once arrested, but the grand jury refused to indict. A decision on the suit was postponed to allow the school board to present further argument. Educators in 14 southern states have had a meeting to consider equalizing all school facilities between white and colored, and in a few cities school boards have voted to equalize. The Georgia education association estimated that it will cost $75,000,000 per year to do this in these 14 states. Many workers for interracial justice see no way by which equalization can be accomplished without federal help, because of the low property values and earning power of the south.

* * *

***Papers Support Negro* Salary Equality**

The Mississippi education association is seeking a fund of $3,000,000 to increase the salary of all teachers by $2.50 per week. White teachers have been receiving $10.23 and Negro teachers only $3.50 per week in 61 of the Mississippi counties. That the colored teachers have able white champions is illustrated by the following quotations from three leading southern dailies: "The south has always spent $5 on every white pupil to $1 for the Negro. This is short-sighted policy. . . . The only way segregation can be just is for the Negro to have his portion measured out with the same spoon used for the white," said the *Charlotte* (N. C.) *News.* "We must accept the inevitable gracefully and cooperate with our Negro fellow citizens in working out an amicable solution," said the *Richmond Times-Dispatch.* "The present manner of distributing the common school fund is a lie and a fraud on its face. Further subterfuge or camouflage will be useless. The nation's tribunal of last resort has spoken.

Whether you like the decision or not doesn't matter. It must be obeyed," said the *Jackson Daily News.*

* * *

No Segregation in Nashville Meeting

The third meeting of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare held recently in Nashville had the theme, "The South's Part in Winning the War for Democracy." Members registered from every state in the south from Virginia to Texas except Florida. About one-third were representatives of labor and a like proportion were colored. The meetings were interracial without segregation. The keynote speakers were Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina and a member of the War Labor Board. Thomas Jefferson awards were given to Dr. Graham and to Mrs. Mary Bethune, founder of Bethune-Cookman College for Negroes and for 57 years leader in the cause of Negro higher education. Paul Robeson, the Negro baritone, gave a concert. President Homer Rainey of the University of Texas was elected chairman for the next conference. John B. Thompson, Presbyterian religious leader at the University of Oklahoma, was chairman of this meeting.

* * *

Total War Demands Negroes and Whites

The heart of the conference's "Statement of Principles" is to be found in the following paragraphs: "Neither the strength nor the speed essential to win the war is possible without the full use of all the south's material and all the south's human resources—Negro and white alike. Many of the goals the Southern Conference set for the fulfillment of democracy three years ago are now the requisites of victory. Without this victory no further progress will be possible and no work for human welfare will go on. All our goals are unified by the sweeping threats of this war."

* * *

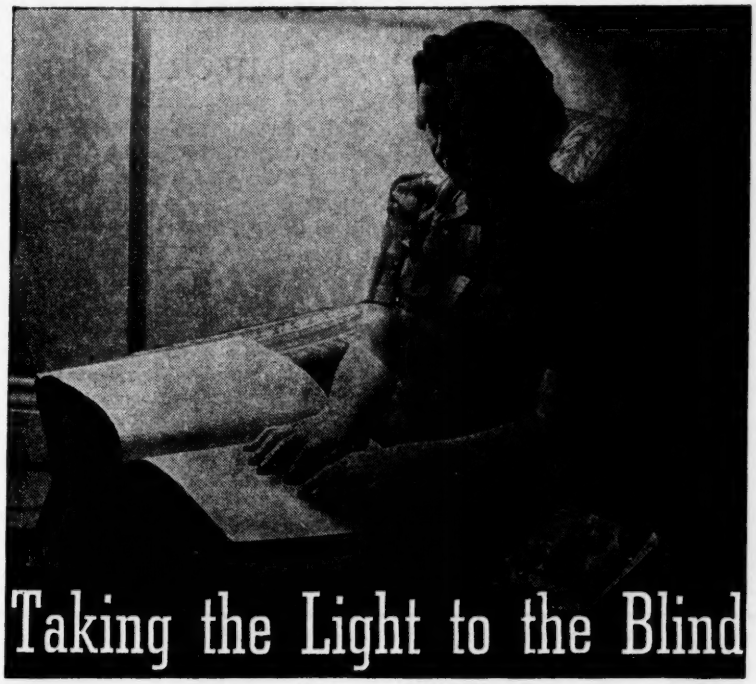
Aid Poor to Win War

"Our manpower—both military and civilian—is now too priceless to be limited by underproduction, underconsumption, or by neglect of the vast resources of farm production represented by small farmers, tenants and sharecroppers who can with government help make great contributions to maximum farm production for ourselves and our allies," the statement continued. "Farm-labor unity is also essential for such maximum production. The work of the FSA is proving invaluable in the food-for-freedom program and should be extended. We support a policy of government encouragement to the organization of cooperatives among the southern farmers."

* * *

Remove Infringements On Civil Rights

"The equal obligation of all citizens to give their full strength to our democratic offensive calls upon us to provide adequate facilities for health and training of all our youth—Negro and white—for the important jobs that await them," the conference held. "The requisites of victory demand action by approved government agencies and citizens of communities to remove all infringements of the civil liberties and democratic rights of all the American people,



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regardless of race, color, creed or national origin. Every effort to maintain and extend these freedoms here in the south will strengthen the basic faith of our people and will hasten the victory for these freedoms abroad."

* * *

Ministers, Industrialists Fail to Attend

A number of industrialists were invited to participate in panel discussions and several accepted, but only two appeared. One of the highlights of the conference, however, was the declaration of Mr. Higgins of New Orleans, head of the Higgins Shipbuilding Company, which is rapidly becoming one of the greatest in the land. He declared in a public meeting before the whole conference that he was hiring workers according to their skills and not their color, that he was going increasingly to tap the great unused resources of Negro labor and that he was determined to show that the New Deal works. Ministers were conspicuous by their absence, but about 30 religious workers who are not pastors and a like number of educators registered.

ALVA W. TAYLOR.

Expect Crisis in Church Colleges

Texas Schools Affected by War—Seek to Unite Relief Appeals—Ministers Will Meet in June

(Correspondence from Texas)

WACO, May 18.—Church schools anxiously await the effect of the war. Baylor University, deficient in endowment and fearing drastic reduction in attendance, in electing new teachers and arranging its new budget has provided for a flexible scale of salaries in case such should be needed. President J. N. R. Score, taking up his duties at Southwestern University, says that new resources must be found if the school is to continue.

* * *

Relief Appeals Meet Indifferent Response

United China Relief has met with only a sporadic response in Texas. Dallas contributed $40,000 and Waco $8,000, both exceeding their quotas, but Houston fell to $15,000, and while many smaller cities did their part several of the larger ones are short of their goals. Army and Navy Relief, with smaller quotas, registered similar results. Oppressed by the number of such calls, and with USO coming up, many of the cities are seeking to include them all in community chests.

* * *

Plan Pastors' Schools at Dallas and Ft. Worth

Two pastors' schools will be running almost simultaneously in Dallas and Fort Worth. The school at Southern Methodist University will feature George A. Buttrick and E. Stanley Jones. The one at the Baptist Seminary will be in the nature of an evangelistic conference and will engage mainly state pastors. The two will assemble the first two weeks of June.

* * *

Two Seminary Leaders Seek Retirement

Coincident with the retirement of President John R. Sampey from the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky., because of age and ill health, came for the same reasons the retirement of President L. R. Scarborough from the Southwestern Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas. The Southern Baptist Convention in San Antonio, May 16-20, elects their successors. Both these seminary presidents have served as presidents of the Southern Baptist Convention and are accounted foremost Baptist leaders.

* * *

Oil Magnate Pays Church Debts

This correspondent has just returned from a series of meetings in Bartlesville, Okla., at First Baptist Church. In this headquarters city of oil companies, the 20,000 population are nearly all "white collar" men. Frank Phillips, owner of the Phillips company, recently paid all the debts on the town's 34 churches, a sizable sum. Methodist, Presbyterian and Christian churches in Bartlesville conduct a union service every Sunday evening throughout the year, with some success.

* * *

And So Forth

Mrs. L. W. Alexander of Waco, who maintains a dozen foreign missionaries through the First Baptist Church, recently made an airplane tour of South America, visiting the mission stations. She has returned with very encouraging reports of Christian progress, notably in Peru, Uruguay and the Argentine.

JOSEPH MARTIN DAWSON.

Reconstruction in France Confined to Transport

Of the 148 railroad bridges, 27 tunnels and 67 overpasses which were destroyed in France by the war, 80 per cent have been permanently rebuilt, 15 per cent have been temporarily restored. Of the 2,532 highway bridges destroyed, 587 have been permanently rebuilt, 1,327 temporarily restored. About 70,000 buildings were completely and 180,000 partially destroyed but no work except clearing away wreckage has been permitted on these, according to the Worldover Press.

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By WILLIAM L. STIDGER, Boston University

'Life Can Be Made Over'
By M. M. MCGORRILL, Fountain St. Baptist Church, Grand Rapids

'Examination Day Surprises'
By FRED EASTMAN, Chicago Theological Seminary

'Carrying Bones to Canaan'
By ROY L. SMITH, editor the *Christian Advocate*

'If—'
By FRED E. LUCHS, Community Presbyterian Church, Athens, O.

ALFRED W. SWAN, First Congregational Church, Madison, Wis., presents an article on "TRAINING FOR A MINISTRY THAT MINISTERS"

WINTHROP S. HUDSON, Normal Park Baptist Church, Chicago, contributes the PASTORAL PRAYER

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Probe Christian Duty to State

Southern Presbyterians Discuss Obligations of the Christian in War—Defend Labor's Rights—Malvern Upheld

(Correspondence from Memphis)

MEMPHIS, May 15.—The six-day General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., which opens in Knoxville on May 28, will give chief attention to the report of the permanent committee on social welfare, which deals with "The Christian Church in a World at War." After portraying the ghastliness and grief of war, the report says that the Christian, being a citizen of earth and heaven, owes a real duty to the state. His dual duties, however, must be held in proper relationship to each other. "It is not the task of the church," says the report, "to state in detail the duties of the Christian to his country." The state can be depended on to enumerate such duties.

* * *

Upholds Role of Objectors to War

The report asserts that most Americans hold our participation in this war to be just and necessary and that "our hopes for a just world order, the continuation of the democratic way of life and the very freedom of the church to do its work are at stake in this conflict." But with all this at stake, the church must not lose sympathy for the conscientious objector so long as he admits that he owes a duty to the state, though that duty be of a different nature because of his commitment to the way of nonviolence. Only by devotion similar to that of the soldier who dies in battle can the position of the pacifist be justified by his brethren.

* * *

Lists Seven Duties of Christian in War

The seven duties of the Christian during this war, says the report, are (1) to maintain that the mission of the church is spiritual; (2) to hold within the church the sense of brotherhood in spite of racial divisions and national strife; (3) to promote good will and discourage vituperation and hatred even in secular thought; (4) to hold that the spirit of war is not the spirit of Jesus even while maintaining that, as the lesser of two evils, this war must be waged successfully; (5) to minister to the relief of the suffering; (6) to denounce sin and proclaim the need of repentance; (7) to rededicate life with new devotion to the church's primary tasks of evangelism and Christian education.

* * *

Presbyterians Defend Rights of Labor

The West Tennessee presbytery of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., held at Milan the last of April, adopted a resolution urging cooperation between capital and labor for supplying war needs. It stressed the need of safeguarding rights of collective bargaining. It emphasized the need of surrounding army camps with moral influences and urged that more thought be given to the making of a just and durable peace at the end of the war. Josiah Sibley, pastor of the only Presbyterian Church U.S.A. in Memphis, was chairman of the social education committee.

* * *

Revoke Licenses of Drunken Drivers

The Southern Hospital Conference, held here about the same time, had a symposium on the Blue Cross plan operated by hospitals and medical societies in many cities and giving care in the hospital of the patient's choice. The plan has not been inaugurated in Memphis, although, for the third consecutive year, Memphis has won first honors in public health work from the American Public Health Association. The city has also won its second national safety award and in this connection publicized the fact that 98 per cent of all Tennesseans who had their driving licenses revoked in the past year were charged with drunkenness.

* * *

A.C.L.U. to Challenge Mississippi Law

The American Civil Liberties Union has offered to conduct in Mississippi a test case of a law just passed making it a felony to preach against the war. The bill was aimed at Jehovah's Witnesses. A Jackson, Miss., theater operator has opened his house four times for Sunday movies and each time has been closed under the state's 120-year-old blue laws, which were retained by the last session of the legislature.

* * *

Episcopal Layman Defends Malvern

Stanley Matthews, Cincinnati architect and noted Episcopal layman, was in Memphis recently under the auspices of the social service committee of the diocese, of

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which W. G. Gehri is head. He spoke on the Malvern Manifesto and answered its critics. Grace-St. Luke's Episcopal Church, of which Mr. Gehri is rector, will dedicate its $65,000 parish house on May 20 and set up an ambitious community program. F. Newcomb Butler will be ordained deacon in Grace-St. Luke's on May 27.

* * *

And So Forth

At the American Chemical Society's 103rd convention, held in Memphis April 20-24, nearly 3,000 delegates joined in declaring that draft boards are calling highly trained chemists into army jobs which high school graduates could fill.

The Tennessee Medical Association's 109th meeting, held in Memphis just preceding the chemists' meeting, declared that one-fifth of the nation's physicians will be in uniform before 1943, and that the war will bring a frightful increase of mental patients.

The conference of southern governors held in Hot Springs in late April dealt largely with war questions, especially economic problems. The Arkansas bankers' association meeting, which followed the governors' conference, said that inflation need not be feared unless the war lasts a decade.

F. R. Harper of the South Carolina conference of the "Continuing Methodist Episcopal Church, South" was in Memphis in late April to organize a congregation. He did not succeed.

The Memphis ministers' association brought D. F. Fleming, professor in Vanderbilt University, to Memphis last week to address a mass meeting on the question, "Will We Lose the Peace Again?" The four Memphis pastors who were delegates to the national study conference have given many addresses and panel discussions.

The chief political topic of discussion in the mid-south just now is the repeal of the poll tax.

The cotton stamp plan inaugurated in May 1940 will come to an end here on May 30. About 11,000 Memphians will be affected.

Miss Eudora Welty, new Mississippi author, has been awarded a Guggenheim fellowship for fiction. Robert Ramsey, new Memphis author, has won a Rosenwald Fund fellowship. MARSHALL WINGFIELD.

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Council Urges Bond Purchase

Federal Council Says Duty of Christians Is to Aid War Effort—Methodists Debate Total Loyalty

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, May 15.—The executive committee of the Federal Council urged Christians—not churches—to back the war effort by purchase of government bonds and to make sacrificial gifts for the alleviation of suffering. This regular meeting of the committee passed the resolution only after considerable debate. The statement follows: "We appeal to Christian citizens to effect serious savings in personal expenditure in order to invest the savings in government bonds or to make sacrificial gifts for the alleviation of the vast suffering resulting from the war. We do not ask churches to engage in the selling of bonds. We do ask Christians as citizens to recognize that at a time when the supply of goods for private consumption is sharply curtailed, a curtailment of the demand for the available supply is necessary in order to avoid inflation. . . . We should count it a privilege to share in such self-denials as are required by rationing. . . . We urge Christian citizens to accept ungrudgingly the greatly increased taxation which is necessary."

* * *

Warns Against Third World War

The keynote of "equality" instead of "tolerance" among the nations and races of the world pervaded the sessions of the League for Industrial Democracy meetings last week end. Lin Yutang, the Chinese author, in a masterful address, warned that present conditions "are building up for a Third World War on racial lines, very likely with the Germans on the side of the Anglo-Saxons" against the vast yellow and black populations. He then called for the establishment of an effective world federation of free peoples to prevent the splitting of the United Nations "in another 25 years" by a global war fought between Western civilization and the races of Asia, Africa and the Far East.

* * *

White Superiority A Myth

J. Stewart Burgess, sociologist of Temple University, asserted that "there is no anthropological basis for the claim of white superiority. . . . The problem is not one of the yellow race, or of the brown race, but a white race problem. It is the Anglo-Saxon race, if one can call it that, which finds fault with other races." Dr. Burgess gave "an example right here in the Pennsylvania station." He said investigation revealed that of the 30 Negro waiters in the station restaurant, 20 had college degrees but could get no better employment than to serve tables. He urged a fundamental change of attitudes.

* * *

Methodists Debate Total Loyalty

The New York East conference of the Methodist Church, in session over the week end at the Central Church, Brooklyn, debated at length a proposal introduced by a committee of 40 ministers and laymen to pledge "complete loyalty" to the federal government. One pastor insisted he could not pledge "complete loyalty" as long as liquor sales continued and tires for beer trucks were not rationed. Another pointed out that Christians are committed first to a higher loyalty, saying: "The essential loyalty is complete loyalty to Christ." The resolution, as finally passed, read: "We affirm our conviction that so much of our present civilization is at stake in this struggle and that the first step toward a just and durable peace is the defeat of the Axis powers. We, therefore, pledge our loyalty to our own government and to the United Nations in our cooperative struggle."

* * *

Marley Says Taxes Must Soar

Speaking before a conference on Russian war relief held at the Hotel Commodore Wednesday, Lord Marley of England declared: "The people of the United States haven't seen yet what a real tax burden is like. In England, everybody who makes more than $400 a year is subject to a direct tax. Still the English are sending ten times as much money for relief supplies to Russia as Americans are."

* * *

Kingdon Heads Drive for Political Purge

The Union for Democratic Action, under the leadership of Frank Kingdon, announced plans last week for a national political drive to oust obstructionists from Congress. Speaking at a testimonial dinner for Reinhold Niebuhr, Dr. Kingdon characterized the elimination from office of "prewar isolationists" as "the most important civilian defense task" confronting the nation. He declared that we need "a Congress that will fight and win this war." Therefore "we are going to set up a political organization on a national basis and I am convinced that it is going to amount almost to a tidal wave that will sweep across the country. We must elect representatives who will recognize that this is a people's war and respond to the people's will."

* * *

And So Forth

Mrs. Edward C. Carter, wife of the general secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations, has been elected chairman of the China Aid Council and the American Committee to Aid Chinese War Orphans. Madame Chiang is the Chinese chairman.

The Broadway Temple and Washington Heights Methodist Church united last Sunday at a special service held in the Tabernacle Church, Manhattan. Allen E. Claxton is pastor.

The USO opened its campaign here last week for $32,000,000. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., gave the keynote address and also made the initial gift of $200,000.

The Liberal Ministers' Club of Greater New York elected as president for 1942-43 Karl M. Chworowsky of the Flatbush Unitarian Church, Brooklyn. Only one of their officers is not a Unitarian.

The Protestant Reformed Dutch Church of Flushing celebrated its 100th anniversary this week.

J. HENRY CARPENTER.

Tragedy Haunts Steps of Exiles

Thousands of West Coast Japanese are Crowded into Camps—Wait in Line for Food—One-Third Working

(Correspondence from Southern California)

LOS ANGELES, May 16.—To the newspaper-reading public, evacuation of Japanese nisei and issei is a cold, impersonal blur, like a blizzard. But to people who know these people as friends, this vast, swirling mass consists of personalities in swift and terrible transition. This letter hopes to help you see some of these people one at a time. To many of us this experience is overwhelming. No human mind can comprehend a tragedy so complicated and abysmal as that which is happening right under our eyes.

* * *

How Bitterness Develops

The night before she left, I called on Grace and her husband. They were recently married. Grace is a young leader of her denomination. Her husband was wearing the high clerical collar that nisei ministers about to be sent to reception centers are advised to wear. "Has the bitterness got you yet?" I asked. "It didn't at first," she replied. "When the others were being taken to Manzanar and to Santa Anita, I went around telling them to keep their chins up. But now that I'm going myself, it's different. The bitterness wells up inside me. I can't help it." Another American citizen of Japanese ancestry said, just before his bus pulled out, that this was different from the treatment accorded to the Jews in Germany. It was just as effective, but "subtler."

* * *

Manzanar Evacuees Live in Dust

Several thousand American citizens now have a bayonet pointed straight at their solar plexus if they wander outside the one-square-mile limit of the camp at Manzanar. There is Mt. Whitney, to be sure, but between you and it are the pillboxes. These, however, do not completely inhibit the bitter humor of the internees. A recent visiting preacher was warned: "Every church person from outside tells us to 'lift up our eyes to the hills whence cometh our help.' All we ask is that we don't have to hear that text any more." The newspaper which an enterprising nisei mimeographs is called the *Manzanar Free Press.* Is it in irony or in hope? One family has put cactus plants together in a flower arrangement. Another has started a wild rose growing under its barrack window. The dust is a byword. The privacy is almost nil. Eight persons are assigned to a room 20 by 25 feet.

* * *

One-Third Are Working

About one-third of the internees at Manzanar are working. A few issei or Japanese citizens by now are no doubt engaged in growing that substitute rubber plant which is expected to keep American automobiles running. But many of them are having the first real vacation they have experienced since coming to these shores years ago. The pay for a non-skilled worker in the camps is $8 a month; $12 for skilled labor; $16 for technical and professional service. Dr. Goto, who was house surgeon of the general hospital in Los Angeles for six years, is now in charge of the Manzanar hospital at $16 a month. The other day he saved the life of the director who had lobar pneumonia, perhaps from the dust. He had no oxygen tent. But he knew how to administer one of the sulpha drugs.

* * *

Camps Are Crowded Beyond Capacity

Yesterday I visited the new assembly center at the Pomona fair grounds. It is almost impossible to get through the gate at the Santa Anita race tracks center. It was built for 17,000 people but has to accommodate something like 21,000. You can get into the Pomona camp if your car is loaded with books, Sunday school and athletic equipment, as ours was. These 5,000 already trying to reroot themselves are making a splendid impression. The high, unpainted watch towers round about the barbed wire presumably have a tommy gun along with the usual searchlight. But the military control is not ubiquitous.

* * *

No Cause for Complaint

The day before I got there a nisei high school girl whom I baptized two months ago wrote enthusiastically: "Here we are in heaven. This is truly a wonderful place. After we've been here awhile, I am sure everything will be organized so there won't be so much confusion. It takes about an hour of waiting in line until we enter the mess hall. It is a good way of building up an appetite. Since the mess hall is lacking workers, the food served is to feed and not to please. While I wait in line, I do a little meditating. As I eat my food, I say to myself on the first few bites, 'This is God's food.' I saw Mr. Tojo [an issei who helped build her church] reading his Testament as he was waiting in line. All the officials here are very considerate. I can't think of a thing to complain about."

ALLAN A. HUNTER.

Current Feature Films

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M—Mature. Y—Younger. C—Children. *Outstanding for Family. †Outstanding for Mature Audience.

Baltic Deputy (Soviet film; English titles) M. Cherkassov, M. Domesheva, B. Livanov	*Drama* about temperamental old professor of botany who during revolution defies university authorities to champion Bolsheviks, is adopted by latter as hero.	Propaganda film designed to show that revolution made real use of "right kind" of intellectuals, did not mistreat others. Best part is delightful interpretation by Cherkassov of individualistic professor. *Interesting.* M
Four Jacks and a Jill (RKO) Desi Arnaz, Ray Bolger, Anne Shirley	*Musical.* Small swing band wins fame when its adopted singer pretends to know exiled king, and phony "king" appears.	A hopelessly jumbled plot, its working out never quite clear. Enlivened only by occasional dancing sequences by Bolger. *Feeble.*
The Mexican Spitfire at Sea (RKO) Leon Errol, Zasu Pitts, Lupe Velez	*Farce,* continuing explosive adventures of Carmelita, her long-suffering husband and his eccentric uncle, this time on a trip to Honolulu.	Noisy slapstick replete with unfunny drinking episodes. *Tedious.*
Saboteur (Univ.) Alan Baxter, R. Cummings, Otto Kruger, Priscilla Lane	*Melodrama.* Young aircraft workers accused of sabotage eludes police, sets out on weird endeavors to uncover spy ring himself, bring real culprits to bay.	Although directed by creator of previous exciting chase melodramas (Hitchcock), this lacks real suspense and leaves many holes in plot — perhaps because it must pause often for declamations on democracy, etc. *Routine spy melodrama.* M, Y
This Time for Keeps (MGM) Guy Kibbee, Irene Rich, A. Rutherford, R. Sterling, V. Weidler	*Comedy* of family life, chiefly concerned with efforts of young husband to stand on his own feet despite well meaning attempts of father-in-law to guide his daily life.	A simple little film that wanders here and there and struggles hard for laughs. In no way outstanding, it *might amuse* only if one is not in critical mood. M, Y, C
A Tragedy at Midnight (Rep.) Mona Barrie, John Howard, M. Lindsay	*Detective.* Radio commentator is framed by police because he has been pointing up their failures; escapes to solve murder encountered on the way.	A sordid background makes for considerable unpleasantness, although suspense is better handled than in many films of this type. *Trivial.*

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Babes on Broadway, The Courtship of Andy Hardy, Fantasia, The Great Commandment, The Great Dictator, Hay Foot, It Started With Eve, Kathleen, The Reluctant Dragon, The Vanishing Virginian.

For Mature Audience: The Adventures of Martin Eden, All That Money Can Buy, Blossoms in the Dust, Citizen Kane, The Forgotten Village, The Girl from Leningrad, Here Comes Mr. Jordan, Hold Back the Dawn, How Green Was My Valley, H. M. Pulham, Esq., King's Row, Ku Kan, The Little Foxes, Major Barbara, The Male Animal, The Man Who Came to Dinner, My Favorite Blonde, Mr. V, One Foot in Heaven, Remember the Day, Sergeant York, The Stars Look Down, Sullivan's Travels, Suspicion, Target for Tonight, To Be or Not To Be, The Tuttles of Tahiti, Woman of the Year.

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